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From The Rev. Mrs. Morgan Harry,
Editor of the Herald of Peace,
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London Sept: 22nd 1842.

1871

1872

1873

1874

1875

Peace society, London, Eng.

ALL WAR ANTICHRISTIAN;

OR,

THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE,
AS CONTAINED IN THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,

EXPLAINED AND PROVED IN

T H E T R A C T S

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF PERMANENT
AND UNIVERSAL PEACE.

"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that *bringeth good tidings*, that *publisheth PEACE*."—*Isaiah lii. 7.*

"When the spirit of Christianity shall exert its proper influence over the minds of individuals, and especially over the minds of public men in their public capacities, War will cease throughout the Christian world."—*Bishop Watson.*

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P R E F A C E.

The PEACE SOCIETY was established in London, June, 1816, and designated, "THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF PERMANENT AND UNIVERSAL PEACE." The object of this Institution is to diffuse information to prove that *All War* is inconsistent with the spirit and precepts of Christianity, and the true interests of mankind; and to point out the means best calculated to maintain permanent and universal peace, on the basis of true christian principles. It derives all its views from the oracles of Divine truth, and confidently refers to the New Testament as the authority for all its doctrines, objects, and measures.

This Society addresses itself to no particular or separate religious community amongst the professors of Christianity, but wishes to secure the sympathy and cooperation of those of every denomination who are disposed to exert themselves in promoting "peace on earth, and good will towards men." The Society is, therefore, very desirous to win their influence and obtain their assistance, towards the accomplishment of an object so truly benevolent and christian—an

object not limited by local attachments, or circumscribed by any geographical boundaries, but extending to the whole human family.

The Society has no misgiving as it regards the scriptural integrity of its views, that ALL WAR is opposed to the religion of the New Testament; but maintains its unimpeachableness, whether examined in the light of the predictions of the Old Testament, the life and teaching of Christ the author and finisher of the christian faith, the doctrines propounded by the inspired apostles, or the whole genius of the Divine oracles. The Society, therefore, regards the general prevalence of erroneous sentiments on the subject of War, instead of operating as a discouragement, as affording occasion rather to proportion its efforts to the obstacles it has to encounter, and to be animated to look forward to the period, "when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Entertaining these views, the Society submits it to every christian mind, as an incumbent duty, to examine carefully the reasons and evidence on this point, which have been faithfully, and with affectionate solemnity, set before the professedly christian public in its acknowledged Tracts.


91, BISHOPSGATE WITHIN,

January, 1840.

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*Tract No. I. of the Society for the Promotion of
Permanent and Universal Peace.*

THE
SUBSTANCE OF A PAMPHLET,
ENTITLED
A SOLEMN REVIEW
OF THE
CUSTOM OF WAR;
SHOWING
THAT WAR IS THE EFFECT OF POPULAR DELUSION,
AND
PROPOSING A REMEDY.

By 

' By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' *John xlii. 35.*
" All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."—*Matt. xxvi. 52.*

STEREOTYPE EDITION.

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## SOLEMN REVIEW

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*" Shall the sword devour for ever ?"*

**W**E regard with horror the custom of the ancient heathens, in offering their children in sacrifice to idols. We are shocked with the customs of the Hindoos, in prostrating themselves before the car of an idol to be crushed to death; in burning women alive on the funeral piles of their husbands; in offering a monthly sacrifice, by casting living children into the Ganges to be drowned. We read with astonishment of the sacrifices made in the Papal crusades, and in the Mahometan and Hindoo pilgrimages. We wonder at the blindness of Christian nations, who have esteemed it right and honourable to buy and sell Africans as property, and reduce them to bondage for life. But that which is fashionable and popular in any country is esteemed right and honourable, whatever may be its nature in the views of men better informed.

But while we look back, with a mixture of wonder, indignation, and pity, on many of the customs of former ages, are we careful to inquire, whether some customs which we deem honourable, are not the effect of popular delusion? and whether they will not be so regarded by future generations? Is it not a fact, that one of the most horrid customs of savage men, is now popular in every nation in Christendom? What custom of the most barbarous nations is more repugnant to the feelings of piety, humanity, and justice, than that of deciding controversies between nations by the edge of the sword, by powder and ball, or the point of the bayonet? What other savage custom has occasioned half the desolation and misery to the human race? And what, but the grossest infatuation, could render such a custom popular among rational beings?

When we consider how great a part of mankind have perished by the hands of each other, and how large a portion of human calamity has resulted from war; it surely cannot appear indif-

ferent, whether this custom is or is not the effect of delusion. Certainly there is no custom which deserves a more thorough examination, than that which has occasioned more slaughter and misery, than all the other abominable customs of the heathen world.

War has been so long fashionable amongst all nations, that its enormity is but little regarded; or when thought of at all, it is usually considered as an evil necessary and unavoidable. But the question to be considered is this—Cannot the state of society and the views of civilized men be so changed as to abolish so barbarous a custom, and render wars unnecessary and avoidable?

If this question may be answered in the affirmative, then we may hope that “the sword will not devour for ever.”

Some may be ready to exclaim, None but God can produce such an effect as the abolition of war; and we must wait for the millennial day. We admit that God only can produce the necessary change in the state of society, and the views of men; but God works by human agency and human means. God could have produced such a change in the views of the British nation, as to abolish the slave trade; yet the event was brought about by a long course of persevering and honourable exertions of benevolent men.

When the thing was first proposed, it probably appeared to the majority of the people, as an unavailing and chimerical project. But God raised up powerful advocates, gave them the spirit of perseverance, and finally crowned their efforts with glorious success. Now, it is probable, thousands of people are wondering how such an abominable traffic ever had existence in a nation which had the least pretensions to Christianity or civilization. In a similar manner God can put an end to war, and fill the world with astonishment, that rational beings ever thought of such a mode of settling controversies.

As to waiting for the millennium to put an end to war, without any exertions on our own part, it is like the sinner's waiting God's time for conversion, while he pursues his course of vice and impiety. If ever there shall be a millennium, in which the sword will cease to devour, it will probably be effected by the blessing of God on the benevolent exertions of enlightened men. Perhaps no one thing is now a greater obstacle in the way of the wished for state of the church, than the *spirit* and *custom* of war

which is maintained by Christians themselves. Is it not then time, that efforts should be made to enlighten the minds of Christians on a subject of such infinite importance to the happiness of the human race ?

That such a state of things is desirable, no enlightened Christian can deny. That it can be produced without expensive and persevering efforts is not imagined. But are not such efforts to exclude the miseries of war from the world, as laudable as those which have for their object the support of such a malignant and desolating custom ?

The whole amount of property in the United States is probably of far less value, than what has been expended and destroyed within two centuries by wars in Christendom. Suppose, then, that one-fifth of this amount had been judiciously laid out by peace associations in the different states and nations, in cultivating the spirit and art of peace, and in exciting a just abhorrence of war ; would not the other four-fifths have been in a great measure saved, besides many millions of lives, and an immense portion of misery ? Had the whole value of what has been expended in wars, been appropriated to the purpose of peace, how laudable would have been the appropriation and how blessed the consequences !

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*“ Shall the sword devour for ever ? ”*

In favour of war several pleas will probably be made.

First, some will plead that the Israelites were permitted, and even commanded to make war on the inhabitants of Canaan. To this it may be answered, that the Giver and Arbiter of life had a right if he pleased, to make use of the savage customs of the age, for punishing guilty nations. If any government of the present day should receive a commission to make war as the Israelites did, let the order be obeyed. But until they have such a commission, let it not be imagined that they can innocently make war

As a further answer to this plea, we have to observe, that God has given encouragement, that under the reign of the Messiah, there shall be such a time of peace, “ that nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.” Micah iv. 3. If this prediction shall ever be fulfilled, the present

delusion in favour of war must be done away. How then are we to expect the way will be prepared for the accomplishment of the prediction? Probably this is not to be done by miraculous agency, but by the blessing of God on the benevolent exertions of individuals to open the eyes of their fellow-mortals, in respect to the evils and delusions of war, and the blessings of peace. Those who shall be the instruments of producing so important a change in the views of men, will be in an eminent sense "peacemakers," and will be entitled to the appellation and privileges of "the sons of God." How much more glorious the achievement, to conquer the prejudices and delusions of men on this subject by kindness and reason, than to conquer the world by the edge of the sword.

A second plea in favour of the custom of war may be this—that war is an advantage to a nation, as it usually takes off many vicious and dangerous characters. But does not war make two such characters for every one it removes? Is it not in fact the greatest school of depravity, and the greatest source of mischievous and dangerous characters that ever existed among men? Does not a state of war lower down the standard of morality in a nation, so that a vast portion of common vice is scarcely observed as evil?

Besides, is it not awful to think of sending vicious men beyond the means of reformation and the hope of repentance? When they are sent into the army, what is this but consigning them to a state where they will rapidly fill up the measure of their iniquity, and become "fitted to destruction?"

Thirdly, It will be pleaded, that no substitute for war can be devised, which will ensure to a nation a redress of wrongs. In reply we may ask, Is it common for a nation to obtain a *redress* of wrongs by war? As to *redress*, do not the wars of nations resemble boxing at a tavern, when both the combatants receive a terrible bruising, then drink a mug of flip together and make peace; each, however, bearing for a long time the marks of his folly and madness? A redress of wrongs by war is so uncommon, that unless revenge is redress, and multiplied injuries satisfaction, we should suppose that none but madmen would run the hazard.

But if the eyes of people could be opened in regard to the evils and delusions of war, would it not be easy to form a confederacy of nations, and organize a high court of equity, to decide national

controversies? Why might not such a court be composed of some of the most eminent characters from each nation? and a compliance with the decision of the court be made a point of national honour, to prevent the effusion of blood, and to preserve the blessings of peace! Can any considerate person say, that the probability of obtaining right in such a court, would be *less* than by an appeal to arms? When an individual appeals to a court of justice for the redress of wrongs, it is not always the case that he obtains his right. Still such an appeal is more honourable, more safe, and more certain, as well as more benevolent, than for the individual to attempt to obtain redress by his pistol, or his sword. And are not the reasons for avoiding an appeal to the sword, for the redress of wrongs, always great in proportion to the calamities, which such an appeal must naturally involve? If this be a fact, then there is infinitely greater reason, why two nations should avoid an appeal to arms, than usually exists against a bloody combat between two contending individuals.

In the fourth place it may be urged, that a spirit of forbearance on the part of a national government, would operate as an invitation to repeated insult and aggression.

But is this plea founded on facts and experience? Does it accord with what is well known of human nature? Who are the persons in society that most frequently receive insult and abuse? Are they the meek, the benevolent, and the forbearing? Do these more commonly have reason to complain, than persons of quick resentment, who are ready to fight on the least provocation?

There are two sects of professed Christians in this country, which, as sects, are peculiar in their opinions respecting the lawfulness of war, and the right of repelling injury by violence. These are the Quakers and the Shakers. They are remarkably pacific. Now, we ask, does it appear, from experience, that their forbearing spirit brings on them a greater portion of injury and insult than what is experienced by people of other sects? Is not the reverse of this true in fact? There may indeed be some instances of such gross depravity, as a person's taking advantage of their pacific character, to do them injury, with the hope of impunity. But in general, it is believed, their pacific principles and spirit command the esteem even of the vicious, and operate as a shield from insult and abuse.

The question may be brought home to every society. How seldom do children of a mild, forbearing temper, experience insult or injury, compared with the waspish, who will sting if touched? The same inquiry may be made in respect to persons of these opposite descriptions of every age, and in every situation of life; and the result will be favourable to the point in question.

Should any deny the applicability of these examples to national rulers, we have the pleasure of being able to produce one example, which is undeniably applicable.

When William Penn took the Government of Pennsylvania, he distinctly avowed to the Indians his forbearing and pacific principles, and his benevolent wishes for uninterrupted peace with them. On these principles the government was administered, while it remained in the hands of the Quakers. What then was the effect? Did this pacific character in government invite aggression and insult? Let the answer be given in the language of the Edinburgh Review of the Life of William Penn. Speaking of the treaty made by Penn with the Indians, the Reviewer says:

“Such indeed was the spirit in which the negotiation was entered into, and the corresponding settlement conducted, that for the space of more than *seventy years*—and so long indeed as the Quakers retained the chief power in the government, the peace and amity which had been thus solemnly promised and concluded, never was violated; and a large though solitary example afforded, of the facility with which they, who are really sincere and friendly in their views, may live in harmony with those who are supposed to be peculiarly fierce and faithless.”

Shall then this “solitary” but successful “example” never be imitated? “Shall the sword devour for ever?”

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Some of the evils of war have already been mentioned, but the field is almost boundless. The demoralizing and depraving effects of war cannot be too seriously considered. We have heard much of the corrupting tendency of some of the rites and customs of the heathen; but what custom of the heathen nations had a greater effect in depraving the human character, than the custom of war? What is that feeling usually called a *war-spirit*, but a deleterious compound of enthusiastic ardour, ambition, malignity, and revenge! a compound which as really endangers the *soul* of the possessor, as the

*life* of his enemy! Who, but a person deranged or deluded, would think it safe to rush into the presence of his Judge with his heart boiling with enmity, and his brother's blood dripping from his hands! Yet in time of war, how much pains is taken to excite and maintain this blood-thirsty disposition, as essential to success?

The profession of a soldier exposes him to sudden and untimely death, and at the same time hardens his heart, and renders him regardless of his final account. When a person goes into the army, it is expected of him, that he will rise above the fear of death. In doing this he too commonly rises above the fear of God, and all serious concern for his soul. It is not denied that some men sustain virtuous characters amidst the contaminating vapours of a camp; and some may be reformed by a sense of the dangers to which they are exposed; but these are uncommon occurrences.

The depravity occasioned by war, is not confined to the army. Every species of vice gains ground in a nation during war. And when a war is brought to a close, seldom, perhaps, does a community return to its former standard of morals. In time of peace, vice and irreligion generally retain the ground they acquired by a war. As every war augments the amount of national depravity, so it proportionably increases the dangers and miseries of society.\*

Among the evils of war, a wanton undervaluing of human life ought to be mentioned. This effect may appear in various forms.

\* It has been suggested by a friend, that there is an exception to this account—That Great Britain has been engaged in war the greater part of the time for a century, and that probably the moral and religious character of the nation has been improved during this period.

Admitting the correctness of this statement, it amounts to no more than *one* exception from a general rule; and this one may be accounted for, on the ground of singular facts.

1. The island of Great Britain has *not* been the *seat of war*, for a long course of years. The wars of that nation have been carried on abroad; and their army and navy have had little intercourse with the population at home. This mode of warfare has tended to remove from their own country the corrupting influence of military camps. Had their Island been the seat of war for eighty years out of a hundred, the effects would, in a great measure, have been reversed. But,

2. There have been within twenty years, singular efforts in that nation, which have had a tendency to counteract the moral influence of war. Their Missionary Societies, their Bible Societies, and a vast number of religious, moral, and charitable institutions, must have had a powerful and favourable influence on the character of the nation. By *these* and *not by wars*, the moral state of the nation has been improved.

After all, we are perhaps not very adequate judges of the present depravity in that nation. Their army and navy may still be considered in estimating the amount of national depravity, as well as of population. Let these return home, be disbanded, and mixed with the general mass of citizens; what then would be the moral state of society in Great Britain?

When a war is declared for the redress of some wrong, in regard to property, if nothing but property be taken into consideration, the result is not commonly better than spending five hundred dollars in a law-suit, to recover a debt of ten. But when we come to estimate human lives against dollars and cents, how are we confounded! "All that a man hath will he give for his life."

If by the custom of war rulers learn to undervalue the lives of their own subjects, how much more do they undervalue the lives of their enemies? As they learn to hear of the loss of five hundred, or a thousand of their own men, with perhaps less feeling than they would hear of the death of a favourite horse or dog; so they learn to hear of the death of thousands after thousands on the side of the enemy, with joy and exultation. If their own men have succeeded in taking an unimportant fortress, or a frigate, with the loss of fifty lives on their own side, and fifty-one on the other, this is a matter of joy and triumph. This time they have got the game. But, alas! at what expense to others! This expense, however, does not interrupt the joy of war-makers. They leave it to the wounded and the friends of the dead to *feel* and to *mourn*.

This dreadful depravity of feeling is not confined to rulers in time of war. The army becomes abandoned to such depravity. They learn to undervalue not only the lives of their enemies, but even their own; and will often wantonly rush into the arms of death, for the sake of military glory. And more or less of the same want of feeling, and the same undervaluing of human life, extends through the nation in proportion to the frequency of battles, and the duration of war.

If any thing be done by the army of one nation, which is deemed by the other as contrary to the modern usages in war; how soon do we hear the exclamation of *Goths and Vandals*! Yet what are Christians at war, better than those barbarous tribes? And what is the war-spirit in them, better than the spirit of Goths and Vandals? When the war-spirit is excited, it is not always to be circumscribed in its operations by the refinements of civilization. It is at best a bloody and desolating spirit.

What is our boast of civilization, or christianization, while we tolerate, as popular and justifiable, the most horrid custom which ever resulted from human wickedness? Should a period arrive when the nations "shall learn war no more," what will prosperity



think of our claims, as Christians and civilized men? The custom, of sacrificing men by war, may appear to them as the *blackest* of all heathen superstitions. Its present popularity may appear as wonderful to ages to come, as the past popularity of any ancient custom now does to us. What! they may exclaim, could those be *Christians*, who could sacrifice men by thousands to a point of *honour*, falsely so called; or to obtain a redress of a trifling wrong in regard to property? If such were the customs of Christians, what were they better than the heathens of their own time?

Perhaps some apologist may rise up in that day, and plead, that it appears from the history of our times, that it was supposed necessary to the safety of a nation, that its Government should be quick to assume a warlike tone and attitude, upon every infringement of their rights; that magnanimous forbearance was considered as pusillanimity, and that Christian meekness was thought intolerable in the character of a ruler.

To this others may reply—Could these professed Christians imagine, that their safety depended on displaying a spirit the reverse of their Masters? Could they suppose such a temper best calculated to insure the protection of Him, who held their destiny in his hands? Did they not know that wars were of a demoralizing tendency, and that the greatest danger of a nation resulted from its corruption and depravity? Did they not also know, that a haughty spirit of resentment in one government, was very sure to provoke a similar spirit in another? That one war usually paved the way for a repetition of similar calamities, by depraving each of the contending parties, and by fixing enmities and jealousies, which would be ready to break forth on the most frivolous occasions?

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That we may obtain a still clearer view of the delusions of war, let us look back to the origin of society. Suppose a family, like that of Noah, to commence the settlement of a country. They multiply into a number of distinct families. Then in the course of years they become so numerous as to form distinct governments. In any stage of their progress, unfortunate disputes might arise by the imprudence, the avarice, or the ambition of individuals.

Now at what period would it be proper to introduce the custom of deciding controversies by the edge of the sword, or an appeal to

arms? Might this be done when the families had increased to ten? Who would not be shocked at the madness of introducing such a custom under such circumstances? Might it then with more propriety be done when the families had multiplied to fifty, or to a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand? The greater the number, the greater the danger, the greater the carnage and calamity. Besides, what reason can be given, why this mode of deciding controversies would not be as proper when there were but ten families, as when there were ten thousand? And why might not two individuals thus decide disputes, as well as two nations?

Perhaps all will admit that the custom could not be honourably introduced, until they separated, and formed two or more distinct governments. But would this change of circumstances dissolve their ties as brethren, and their obligations as accountable beings? Would the organization of distinct governments confer a right on rulers to appeal to arms for the settlement of controversies? Is it not manifest, that no period can be assigned, at which the introduction of such a custom would not be absolute murder? And shall a custom which must have been murderous at its commencement, be now upheld as necessary and honourable?

But, says the objector, in determining the question, whether war is now the effect of delusion, we must consider what mankind *are*, and not what they would have been, had wars never been introduced.

“To this we reply: We should consider both: and by what *ought* to have been the state of society, we may discover the present delusion, and the need of light and reformation. If it would have been to the honour of the human race, had the custom of war never commenced, it must be desirable to dispel the present darkness, and exterminate the desolating scourge. The same objection might have been made to the proposition in the British Parliament for the abolition of the Slave Trade; the same may now be made against any attempt to abolish the custom of human sacrifices among the Hindoos; yea, the same may be urged against every attempt to root out pernicious and immoral customs of long standing.

Let it then be seriously considered, how abominably murderous the custom must have been in its origin; how precarious the mode of obtaining redress; how often the aggressor is successful; how small a part even of the successful nation is ever benefited by the

war ; how a nation is almost uniformly impoverished by the contest ; how many individuals are absolutely ruined as to property, or morals, or both ; and what a multitude of fellow-creatures are hurried into eternity in an untimely manner and an unprepared state. And who can hesitate a moment, to denounce war as the effect of popular delusion ?

Let every Christian seriously consider the malignant nature of that spirit which war-makers evidently wish to excite, and compare it with the temper of Jesus : and where is the Christian who would not shudder at the thought of dying in the exercise of the common war-spirit, and also at the thought of being the instrument of exciting such a spirit in his fellow-men ? Any custom which cannot be supported but by exciting in men the very temper of the devil, ought surely to be banished from the Christian world.

The impression that aggressive war is murderous, is general among Christians, if not universal. The justness of the impression seems to be admitted by almost every government in going to war. For this reason each of two governments endeavours to fix on the other the charge of aggression, and to assume to itself the ground of defending some right, or avenging some wrong. Thus each excuses itself, and charges the other with all the blood and misery which result from the contest.

These facts, however, are so far from affording a plea in favour of the custom of war, that they afford a weighty reason for its abolition. If, in the view of conscience, the aggressor is a murderer, and answerable for the blood shed in war ; if one or the other must be viewed by God as the aggressor ; and if such is the delusion attending war, that each party is liable to consider the other as the aggressor ; surely there must be serious danger of a nation's being involved in the guilt of murder, while they imagine they have a cause which may be justified.

So prone are men to be blinded by their passions, their prejudices, and their interests, that in most private quarrels, each of two individuals persuades himself that he is in the right, and his neighbour in the wrong. Hence the propriety of arbitrations, references, and appeals to courts of justice, that persons more disinterested may judge, and prevent that injustice and desolation, which would result from deciding private disputes by single combats or acts of violence.

But rulers of nations are as liable to be misled by their passions and interests as other men; and when misled, they are very sure to mislead those of their subjects who have confidence in their wisdom and integrity. Hence it is highly important that the custom of war should be abolished, and some other mode adopted, to settle disputes between nations. In private disputes there may be cause of complaint on each side, while neither has reason to shed the blood of the other: much less to shed the blood of innocent family connexions, neighbours and friends. So, of two nations, each may have cause of complaint, while neither can be justified in making war; and much less in shedding the blood of innocent people, who have had no hand in giving the offence.

It is an awful feature in the character of war, and a strong reason why it should not be countenanced, that it involves the innocent with the guilty in calamities it inflicts; and often falls with the greatest vengeance on those who have had no concern in the management of national affairs. It surely is not a crime to be born in a country, which is afterwards invaded; yet in how many instances do war-makers punish, or destroy, for no other crime, than being a native or resident of an invaded territory! A mode of revenge or redress, which makes no distinction between the innocent and the guilty, ought to be discountenanced by every friend to justice and humanity.

Besides, as the rulers of a nation are as liable as other people to be governed by passion and prejudice, there is as little prospect of justice in permitting war for the decision of national disputes, as there would be in permitting an incensed individual to be, in his own cause, complainant, witness, judge, jury, and executioner. In what point of view, then, is war not to be regarded with horror?

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*“ Shall the sword devour for ever ? ”*

That wars have been so overruled by God, as to be the occasion of some benefits to mankind, will not be denied; for the same may be said of every fashion or custom that ever was popular among men. War may have been the occasion of advancing useful arts and sciences, and even of the spread of the gospel. But we are not to do evil that good may come, nor to countenance evil because God may overrule it for good.

One advantage of war, which has often been mentioned, is this—It gives opportunity for the display of extraordinary talents, of daring enterprise and intrepidity. But let robbery and piracy become as popular as war has been, and will not these customs give as great opportunity for the display of the same talents and qualities of mind? Shall we therefore encourage robbery and piracy? Indeed it may be asked, do we not encourage these crimes? For what is modern warfare but a popular, refined, and legalized mode of robbery, piracy, and murder, preceded by a proclamation, giving notice of the purpose of the war-maker? But whether such a proclamation changes the character of the following enormities, is a question to be decided at a higher court than that of any earthly sovereign, and by a law superior to the law of nations.

The answer of a pirate to Alexander the Great was as just as it was severe: "By what right," said the King, "do you infest the seas?" The pirate replied, "By the same that you infest the universe. But because I do it in a small ship, I am called a robber; and because you do the same acts with a great fleet, you are called a conqueror!"

Equally just was the language of the Scythian ambassadors to the same deluded monarch: "Thou boastest, that the only design of thy marches is to extirpate robbers. *Thou thyself art the greatest robber in the world.*"

May we then plead for the custom of war, because it produces such mighty robbers as Alexander? Or if once in an age it should produce such a character as Washington, will this make amends for the slaughter of twenty millions of human beings, and all the other concomitant evils of war?

If the characters of such men as Alexander had been held in just abhorrence by mankind, this single circumstance would probably have saved many millions from untimely death. But the celebrity which delusion has given to that desolating robber, and the renown attached to his splendid crimes, have excited the ambition of others, in every succeeding age, and filled the world with misery and blood.

Is it not then time for Christians to learn *not* to attach glory to guilt, or to praise actions which God will condemn? That Alexander possessed talents worthy of admiration, will be admitted. But when such talents are prostituted to the vile purposes of military

fame, by spreading destruction and misery through the world, a character is formed which should be branded with everlasting infamy. And nothing, perhaps, short of the commission of such atrocious deeds, can more endanger the welfare of a community, than the applause given to successful military desperadoes. Murder and robbery are not the less criminal for being perpetrated by a king, or a mighty warrior.

Dr. Prideaux states, that in fifty battles fought by Cæsar, he slew *one million, one hundred and ninety-two thousand* of his enemies. If to this number we add the loss of troops on his own side, and the slaughter of women and children on both sides, we shall probably have a total of TWO MILLIONS of human beings, sacrificed to the ambition of one man!

If we assign an equal number to Alexander, and the same to Napoleon, which we probably may do with justice, then to *three* military butchers, we may ascribe the untimely death of six MILLIONS of the human family: A number equal to the whole population of the United States, in the year 1800. Is it not then reasonable to believe that a greater number of human beings have been slain by the murderous custom of war, than the whole amount of the present population of the world? To what heathen deity was there ever offered such a multitude of human sacrifices as have been offered to human ambition?

Shall then the Christian world remain silent in regard to the enormity of this custom, and even applaud the deeds of men who were a *curse* to the age in which they lived? men, whose talents were employed, not in advancing the happiness of the human race, but in spreading desolation and misery through the world! On the same principle that such men were applauded, may we applaud the chief of a band of robbers and pirates in proportion to his ingenuity, intrepidity, and address, in doing mischief. If the chief displays these energies of mind in a high degree in a successful course of plundering and murder, then he is a "*mighty hunter*," a man of great renown.

But if we attach glory to such exploits, do we not encourage others to adopt the same road to fame? Besides, would not such applause betray a most depraved taste; a taste which makes no proper distinction between virtue and vice, or doing good and doing mischief; a taste to be captivated with the glare of bold

exploits, but regardless of the *end* to which they were directed, the *means* by which they were accomplished, the *misery* which they occasioned to others, and the light in which they must be viewed by a benevolent God?

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An important question now occurs. By what means is it possible to produce such a change in the state of society, and the views of Christian nations, that every ruler shall feel that his honour, safety, and happiness, depend on his displaying a pacific spirit, and forbearing to engage in offensive wars? Is it not possible to form powerful peace societies in every nation of Christendom, whose object shall be, to support government and secure the nation from war?

In such societies we may hope to engage every true minister of the Prince of Peace, and every Christian who possesses the temper of his Master. In this number would be included a large portion of important civil characters.

Having formed societies for this purpose, let the contributions be liberal, in some measure corresponding with the magnitude and importance of the object. Let these be judiciously appropriated to the purpose of diffusing light, and the spirit of peace in every direction, and for exciting a just abhorrence of war in every breast.

Let printing presses be established in sufficient numbers to fill every land with newspapers, tracts, and periodical works, adapted to the pacific design of the societies. Let these all be calculated for the support and encouragement of good rulers, and for the cultivation of a mild and pacific temper among every class of citizens.

The object would be so perfectly harmonious with the spirit, the design, and the glory of the gospel, that it might be frequently the subject of discussion in the pulpit; the subject of Sabbath and every day conversation, and be introduced into our daily prayers to God, whether in public or private.

Another means of advancing the object deserves particular consideration; namely, early education. This grand object should have a place in every plan of education, in families, common schools, academies, and universities.

“Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it.” The power of education has been tried, to make children of a ferocious, blood-thirsty character.

Let it now have a fair chance, to see what it will do towards making mild, friendly and peaceful citizens.

As there is an aversion to war in the breast of a large majority of people in every civilized community ; and as its evils have been recently felt in every Christian nation ; is there not ground to hope, that it would be as easy to excite a disposition for peace, as a disposition for war ? If then peace societies should be formed, and such means be put in operation, as have been suggested, is it not very certain, that the most beneficial effects would result ? Would they not gradually produce an important change in the views and state of society, and give a new character to Christian nations ? What institution or project would more naturally unite all pious and virtuous men ? And on what effort could we more reasonably hope for the blessing of the God of Peace ?

Should prudent, vigorous, and well-conducted efforts be made, in a century from this time, the nations of Christendom may consider human sacrifices, made by war, in the same light they now view the ancient sacrifices to Moloch ; or in the light of wanton and deliberate murder. And such a change in the views of men must conduce to the security and stability of human governments, and to the felicity of the world. As soon as Christian nations are impressed with the importance of this change, they may find access to the Heathen. But while Christians indulge the custom of war, which is in truth the very worst custom in the world, with what face can they reprove the Heathen, or assume among them the office of instructors ? "Physician, heal thyself."

The Bible Societies already formed in various parts of the world, must naturally, and even necessarily, aid the object now proposed. Indeed the two objects are so congenial, that whatever promotes the one will aid the other. The same may be said of all Missionary Societies, and Societies for Propagating the Gospel. Should these all cordially co-operate, they must form a most powerful association.

But our hopes and expectations are not limited here. The societies of Friends and Shakers will come in of course, and cordially contribute to the glorious object. May we not also expect a ready acquiescence from the particular churches of every denomination in the land ? and why may we not look to the various literary and political societies, for aid in a plan which has the security, the peace, and the happiness of the world for its object ?



That there are obstacles and objections to be encountered, we cannot deny; but it is confidently believed, that there are none insurmountable; because God will aid in such a cause, and the time is at hand, when this prediction shall be fulfilled.

As the object is not of a party nature, and as party distinctions and party purposes have been excluded from the discussion, it is hoped no objection will arise from the present state of political parties in this country. The supposed delusion in respect to war, is confined to no nation, nor to any particular sect in any country. What has been said on the subject has not been designed for the purpose of reproach against any class of men; but with a desire to befriend and benefit all who have not examined the subject; and to rouse Christians to one united and vigorous effort to bless the world with peace.

An eloquent speech delivered by Mr. Wilberforce in the British Parliament, in favour of propagating Christianity in India, with a view to abolish human sacrifices in that country, contains some observations, which, we hope, he will repeat in the same house on the present subject; \*

"It was," said he, "formerly my task to plead the cause of a people whose woes affected every heart, and who were finally rescued from the situation in which they groaned, by the abolition of the slave trade. That cause was doubtless the cause of suffering humanity; but I declare, that if we entirely exclude the consideration of religion, humanity appears to me to be still more concerned in the cause I am now pleading, than in that for which I was formerly the advocate."—"I, for my part, consider it as absolute blasphemy to believe that that great Being, to whom we owe our existence, has doomed so large a portion of mankind to remain forever in that state in which we see the natives of India at this day. I am confident his providence has furnished remedies fitted to the case, and I hold it to be our duty to apply them. And I am satisfied, that not only may this be safely attempted, but that its accomplishment will be, in the highest degree, beneficial."

May God grant that this powerful advocate for "suffering humanity" may have his heart fervently engaged for the abolition of the *war trade*. Here he may find a new and ample field for the display of his piety, his philanthropy, and his eloquence. With the greatest propriety he may state, that the miseries occasioned

by the universal custom of war, are far more dreadful, than those occasioned by either of the limited customs, for the abolition of which he has so honourably and successfully contended.

If it would be blasphemy to believe that God has doomed so great a portion of his creatures as the natives of India, to remain for ever the subjects of their present delusions respecting human sacrifices; can it be less than blasphemy to believe that he has doomed, not only all Christendom, but all the nations of the earth, to be for ever so deluded, as to support the most desolating custom which ever resulted from human depravity, or which ever afflicted the race of Adam? Here, with sincerity, I can adopt the words of Mr. Wilberforce—"I am confident that his providence has furnished remedies fitted to the case; and I hold it to be our duty to apply them."

I have till now avoided the mention of our present war,\* that nothing should appear calculated to excite party feelings. But as the present calamity is severely felt, I must be permitted to express my hope, that the affliction will favour the present object. If our distresses may be the occasion of opening the eyes of this people to see the delusions of war in general, and of exciting them to suitable exertions to prevent a return of such calamity, an important benefit may result not only to posterity, but to the world. For if suitable exertions should be made in this country, the influence will not be bounded by the Atlantic; it will cross the ocean, and find its way into the Bible-Societies, and other religious societies in Great Britain, and on the Continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Nor will it be many years before it will find access to the houses of legislation and the palaces of Kings.

Here Christians of every sect may find an object worthy of their attention, and in which they may cordially unite. For this object they may, with propriety, leave behind all party zeal and party distinctions, and bury their animosities in one united effort, to give peace to the world.

Let lawyers, politicians and divines, and men of every class, who can write or speak, consecrate their talents to the diffusion of light, and love, and peace. Should there be an effort, such as the object demands, God will grant his blessing, prosperity will be grateful, heaven will be filled with joy and praise, and "the sword shall *not* devour for ever."

Let not the universality of the custom be regarded as an objection to making the attempt. If the custom be wicked and destructive, the more universal, the more important, is the reformation. If war is ever to be set aside, an effort must some time be made; and why not now as well as at any future day? What objection can now be stated, which may not be brought forward at any after period? If men must have objects for the display of heroism, let their intrepidity be shewn in firmly meeting the formidable prejudices of a world in favour of war. Here is an opportunity for the display of such heroism as will occasion no remorse on a dying bed, and such as God will approve at the final reckoning. In this cause, ardent zeal, genuine patriotism, undaunted fortitude, the spirit of enterprise and every quality of mind worthy of a hero, may be gloriously displayed. Who ever displayed a more heroic spirit than Saint Paul? For such heroism and love of country as he displayed, the object now proposed will open the most ample field at home and abroad.

That there is nothing in the nature of mankind, which renders war necessary and unavoidable—nothing which inclines them to it which may not be overcome by the power of education, may appear from what is discoverable in the two sects already mentioned. The Quakers and Shakers\* are of the same nature with other people, “men of like passions” with those who uphold the custom of war. All the difference between them and others results from education and habit. The principles of their teachers are diffused through their societies, impressed on the minds of old and young; and an aversion to war and violence is excited, which becomes habitual, and has a governing influence in their hearts, their passions and their lives.

If then it has been proved to be *possible*, by the force of education, to produce such an aversion to war, that people will not even *defend* their own lives by acts of violence; shall it be thought impossible by similar means, to destroy the popularity of *offensive* war, and exclude the deadly custom from the abodes of men?

The following things will perhaps be generally admitted; that the christian religion has abolished the practice of enslaving captives, and in several respects mitigated the evils of war, by intro-

\* To these may be added the denomination of Moravians, whose scruples against war have been kindly regarded by the British Government

ducing milder usages ; that if the temper of our Saviour should universally prevail among men, wars *must cease* to the ends of the earth ; that the scriptures give reason to hope that such a time of peace will result from the influence of the Christian religion.

If these views and expectations are well founded, does it not follow of course, that the spirit and custom of war is directly opposed to the principles and spirit of the gospel ; that in proportion as the gospel has its proper effect on the minds of men, an aversion to war must be excited ; and that it is the duty of every Christian to do all in his power to bring the custom into disrepute, and to effect its abolition !

Can it be consistent with due regard to the gospel, for Christians to hold their peace, while they see a custom prevailing, which annually sweeps off myriads of their brethren, hurrying them into eternity by violence and murder ? Can they forbear to exert themselves to put an end to this *voluntary plague* ? Can we feel a conviction that war is in its nature opposed to the principles and spirit of our religion, and that it is the purpose of God to put an end to this scourge by the influence of the gospel ; and still sleep on without any effort to produce the effect which we believe is intended by our heavenly Father ?

If the Christian religion is to put an end to war, it must be by the efforts of those who are under its influence. So long, therefore, as Christians acquiesce in the custom, the desirable event will be delayed.

Christianity itself is not a powerful intelligent *agent*. It is neither a God, an angel, nor a man. It is only a system of divine instructions relating to *duty* and *happiness* : to be used by men for their own benefit, the benefit of each other, and the honour of its Author. Like all other instructions, they are of no use any further than they are regarded and reduced to practice.

In what way then is it possible that Christianity should put an end to war, but by enlightening the minds of men as to the evil of the custom, and exciting them to an opposite course of conduct ? Is it *possible* that the custom of war should be abolished by the influence of religion, while Christians themselves are its advocates ?

If God has appointed that men shall be saved by the *preaching* of the gospel, the gospel *must be preached*, or the *end* will never be accomplished. So if he has appointed that by the same gospel this world shall be delivered from war, this also must be effected by

similar means. The tendency of the gospel to this effect must be illustrated and enforced; its opposition to war must be displayed in the *lives of Christians*; and men must be influenced by gospel motives to cease from destroying one another.

There are other effects which we expect will be produced by Christianity, namely, the abolition of *heathen idolatry*, and the various modes of offering *human sacrifices*. But how are these events to be brought about? Do we expect that our Bibles will spread their covers for wings, fly through the world, and convert the nations without the agency of Christians? should we expect the gospel would ever convert the heathen from their idolatry, if those who profess to be its friends, should themselves generally encourage idolaters in their present courses, by a compliance with their customs? Such expectations would be just as reasonable, as to expect the gospel will occasion wars to cease, without the exertions of Christians, and while they countenance the custom by their own examples.

It will, perhaps, be pleaded, that mankind are not yet sufficiently enlightened to apply the principles of the gospel for the abolition of war: and that we must wait for a more improved state of society. *Improved in what?* In the science of blood? Are such improvements to prepare the way for peace? Why not wait a few centuries, until the natives of India become more improved in their idolatrous customs, before we attempt to convert them to Christianity? Do we expect that by continuing in the practice of idolatry, their minds will be prepared to receive the gospel? If not, let us be consistent, and while we use means for the conversion of heathens, let means also be used for the conversion of Christians. For war is, in fact, a heathenish and savage custom, of the most malignant, most desolating, and most horrible character. It is the greatest curse, and results from the grossest delusions that ever afflicted a guilty world.

#### NOTE.

After the preceding pages were chiefly in type, I saw, for the first time, "*The COMPLAINT OF PEACE,*" and "*ANTIPOLEMUS,*" written by Erasmus. The coincidence of opinions and remarks must strike every reader who shall compare the writings of Erasmus with this Review. He will however, also perceive a disparity of eloquence not much to the honour of the latter. But should the Review be only the occasion of exciting Chris-

tians to read the more important work of Erasmus, my labour will neither be in vain, nor regretted. In his discussion of the subject, there is a display of reason, religion and eloquence, calculated to convince every mind which is not strongly fortified by the delusions of prejudice, and to interest every heart which is less hardened than Pharaoh's. It is indeed astonishing that even popish prejudices could resist the force of his reasoning against the custom of war. As a specimen of his spirit and style, we quote the following passages, in reference to the custom of using the symbol of the Cross for a *standard*, partaking of the Lord's Supper before going to battle, and saying the Lord's Prayer.

"The absurdest circumstance of all those respecting the use of the CROSS, as a *standard* is, that you see it glittering and waving high in air, in *both* the contending armies at once. Divine service is performed to the same Christ in both armies at the same time. What a shocking sight! Lo! CROSSES dashing against CROSSES, and CHRIST on this side *firing bullets* at CHRIST on the other; Cross against Cross, and Christ against Christ!" He adds,

"Let us now imagine we hear a soldier among these *fighting* Christians saying the Lord's Prayer. "OUR FATHER," says he: O hardened wretch! can you call HIM *Father*, when you are just going to cut your *brother's* throat? "*Hallowed be thy name.*" How can the name of God be more impiously *unhallowed*, than by mutual bloody murder among you, his sons? "*Thy kingdom come.*" Do you pray for the coming of his *kingdom*, while you are endeavouring to establish an *earthly despotism*, by the spilling of the blood of God's sons and subjects? "*Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.*" His *will* in heaven is for PEACE, but you are now meditating WAR. Dare you say to your Father in heaven "*Give us this day our daily bread,*" when you are going the next minute to burn your *brother's corn fields*, and had rather lose the benefits of them yourself than suffer him to enjoy them unmolested? With what face can you say, "*Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us,*" when so far from *forgiving* your brother, you are going with all the haste you can, to *murder* him in cold blood for an alleged trespass, which, after all, is but imaginary? Do you presume to deprecate *danger* of "*temptation,*" who, not without great danger to yourself, are doing all you can to force your *brother* into danger? Do you deserve to be *delivered from evil*, that is, from the *evil being* to whose impulse you submit yourself, and by whose spirit you are guided, in contriving the greatest possible evil to your brother?"

Tract No. II. of the Society for the Promotion of  
Permanent and Universal Peace.

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# WAR

INCONSISTENT WITH THE

DOCTRINE AND EXAMPLE

OF

## JESUS CHRIST.

~~~~~  
IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.
~~~~~

RECOMMENDED TO THE PERUSAL OF THE PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY

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"Follow peace with all men."

"Forgive your enemies, do good to them that hate you."

"My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would  
my servants fight." New Test

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*John*  
BY J. SCOTT.

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WAR

INIMICAL TO CHRISTIANITY.

DEAR SIR,

WHEN I saw you lately, you may remember a part of our conversation turned on WAR—and perhaps you thought me singular in some of my sentiments, as controverting the received opinion of men in general. I have therefore devoted an hour or two to state further to you my particular views on this subject.

It is really astonishing to observe with how much composure mankind, and many persons, acknowledged to be among the best men living, admit the propriety of war; and while they in general terms deplore the misery of it, maintain its necessity in some shape or other; for the most part, in that of defence; under this mask, the great adversary of men has so imposed on them, that they do not even think of discussing the lawfulness of war in any case, though they profess to act on christian principles. For my own part, I cannot help wishing to see it become a subject of universal discussion, till the renunciation of the tenet shall spread itself as wide as the misery it has produced.

War, however dreadful in its progress, and awful in its consequences, has always been pleaded for as necessary. Time would be lost in endeavouring to prove, what scarcely any-one will deny, namely, “the unlawfulness of *offensive wars*,” even on moral, much less on Christian principles. The most thorough-paced politician, to the existence of whose power and dominion war is necessary, will always produce acts of aggression on the part of his adversaries, and justify his measures as defensive, on the ground of necessity. How liable such reasoning is to objection, will be evident, when it is considered, that under this plea, the most ambitious and arbitrary tyrants have justified their vilest atrocities;

and if war be convenient, and promise a partial gain, an argument in justification will always be too readily found, although one certain consequence of war is a "*general loss*"—the gain only accruing to an inconsiderable number of individuals.

In these sentiments, then, I have not merely to contend with men who oppose all the order of society, by committing depredation and offence universally; but with those also who interweave the system of bloodshed with the profession of Christianity.

And here it is necessary to observe, that all war, even admitting an aggression, goes on the principle of rendering evil for evil. And how difficult is it, even politically, to decide where the aggression begins, or how one nation possesses a right to call in question what to another nation seems an equal right of theirs;—yet in questions of this kind frequently originate the most bloody, destructive, and unnatural wars. And even admitting the case to be clearly made out, how often does the retaliation of the injured party exceed the offence! In which case, in a moral point of view, they certainly change ground, and the original aggressors become the injured party. Many instances of this kind might be stated, but I shall name one only—the late contest between Great Britain and America. America had chartered rights, which she supposed were infringed by the parent state—she remonstrated and petitioned—the parent state resisted, and refused her demands.—America resisted again.—Great Britain exercised coercion, and sent over an army—America raised a counter army to defend her rights, and was finally successful. And yet how often in that contest did the parties change ground, and each act offensively as well as defensively? And who can state precisely where the act of aggression began, or where retaliation ought to have ceased? Indeed the subject seems involved in all this intricacy and these evil consequences, as if, by a special intervention of Providence, the rash steps of man should be restrained from going to the extreme bounds of right, lest they should overleap those bounds, and enter upon the territory of wrong. In some cases the right will seem more clear; and perhaps on certain principles, may be made out; but as the question is, not whether morality, but whether Christianity allow of war on such occasions, I am bound no further than to the conside-

ration of the latter part of the question. I therefore state the following proposition, as a truth intimately connected with the nature of Christianity, and as a sentiment which will finally prevail.

That War in every shape, is incompatible with the nature of Christianity; and that no persons professing that religion, and under the full and proper influence of the temper and mind of Christ, can adopt, pursue, or plead for it.

My proof is very short and very plain, and will take up much less time than answering the objections invented by the sophistry of men.

For this proof I refer to the clear, direct, and unequivocal commands of Christ and his apostles. Christ, in those admirable precepts of christian doctrine taught by him on the Mount, Matt. ch. v. ver. 38, and 39, says, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Here then Christ inculcates on all Christians the principles of non-resistance, and forbids every kind of retaliation. And I beg leave to produce this text as a full answer to those persons who urge the example of the Jewish polity, or of Jewish characters as an argument to justify CHRISTIANS in making war, in seeking for retaliation, and in taking revenge. If they will be at the trouble of looking at the text, they will observe that the *Jewish dispensation* is changed, and *that* by the Christian Legislator himself—and HE has confirmed the doctrine by his own example. After so pointed and absolute a removal of the old dispensation, to make way for the new; namely, for the christian dispensation, (a dispensation of life and peace,) how any man can justify war, and at the same time profess to act on christian principles, is, I confess, to me a mystery beyond my penetration to understand.

In the same chapter our Saviour goes on to teach his disciples, not only the negative virtue of forbearance, but the positive duty of love, of loving their enemies, and of returning every possible good in their power for every possible injury they could receive; and he urges this doctrine on this principle, "that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain

"on the just and on the unjust;" and then he makes the excellency of his doctrines to consist in their superior effects, and their tendency to make his disciples *more* than other men. See ver. 46, 47, 48.

I know these doctrines are admitted by many, when applied only to individuals, or to Christians in their individual capacity, but are denied by them when applied to professing christian states or political bodies; but by what authority is the sense restrained or applied in this particular way? I conceive, not by the authority of Christ, and I know of no other authority competent to establish such a restriction. Nay, it is said expressly, that no scripture is of private (mere private) interpretation: and it may fairly be inferred, that if individuals are bound to act up to certain principles, if they profess themselves christian, societies, under the same profession, are subject to the same rules; and if they transgress, will have to answer the trespass as transgressors of the command of Christ. The too common and well-known distinction between political and moral right; or, in other words, between political expedience and christian duty, is a distinction dangerous in the extreme: it is not founded in truth, and is of a most pernicious tendency to morality in general. On this principle, political bargains are often made for convenience, and for convenience are as often broken; but our judgment must surely be grossly imposed upon before we can admit such sentiments.

Of a similar character are the precepts taught by the apostles, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head." Rom. xii. 20. If it be objected,* that the concluding part of this expression conveys the highest and most effectual idea of retaliation, they who suppose so, certainly mistake the sense, which will be quite plain, if we consult the subsequent verse. "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." Now I would ask, admitting

* Macknight observes, "The metaphor is supposed to be taken from the melting of metals by covering them with burning coals; thus understood, the meaning will be, in so doing, thou shalt mollify thine enemy and bring him to a good temper. This no doubt is the best method of treating enemies; for it belongs to God to punish the injurious, but to the injured to overcome them by returning good for evil." See also Dr. Guyse and Pool's comments on the place.

this practice of returning good for evil, How can the principle of WAR between christian states be supported for a moment? It is only in the absence of every christian doctrine, and every humane feeling, that such a supposition can be admitted.

We are commanded by Peter, as Christians, to render, "not evil for evil, or railing for railing; but contrariwise blessing," (1 Pet. iii. 9.) and this conduct is urged from a consideration of what we ourselves are called to partake, namely, "a blessing;" and if we profess to love our neighbour as ourselves, even on that principle, we should seek the welfare of all the human race, who, as our brethren by nature, claim all that love. It is unnecessary to make any further comment, or to quote a multitude of other passages: let the Scriptures be read, give them all their scope, and the voice of impartiality and sound sense, as well as the voice of religion, of piety, of humanity, will unite in declaring that their meaning must be perverted, to make them breathe any thing else than love and peace, good-will and harmony to the sons of men: indeed if they breathe not these, they breathe nothing. I shall forbear further proof on behalf of my proposition: for whoever remains undecided with the evidence already produced, will not be persuaded though one rose from the dead.

Hence I infer, that Christians are not at liberty to fight; and if the States, under which they live, require of them this service, they ought to be willing to suffer for refusing to bear arms, rather than to sin against the command of Christ; though men of courage (and none possess so much courage as good men), yet their courage cannot, on the christian principle, be evinced as Soldiers, but rather as Martyrs; and although, from what has been said, it may be easily seen that my sentiments involve those of non-resistance to Civil Authorities, yet I am for obedience to them, no further than a man can justify it to his conscience in the sight of God; further than that, no power on earth can be just in exacting obedience; further than that, no true follower of the Saviour can be just in yielding it. If governments dispose even of the civil rights and privileges of their subjects, and barter them away, a Christian *ought* not; though he is not justified in contending for them by force—such conduct being forbidden by Christ. Submission is enjoined to civil laws, imposts, taxes,

and customs; but when governments interfere with the religious rights of subjects, and dare to bind the consciences of men, then Christians are called upon to endure any sufferings, rather than, by submission to the laws of men, to violate their higher and supreme obligations to the eternal God. But in this resistance it is to be observed, the weapons of their warfare are not carnal; the kingdom of Christ is not to be promoted by his disciples spreading, far and wide, bloodshed, confusion, and carnage; but by an invincible adherence to his doctrines and example, and by a resistance even unto blood; so striving against sin, that their enemies may be persuaded, by their constancy, of the power and excellence of those principles which subject the professors of them to the greatest sufferings, rather than allow them to commit the least evil.

But if war, either foreign or civil, were a justifiable measure, we shall no doubt find a justification of it from some examples, left on record in the Bible, for our direction in this important case; and therefore the Jewish polity, which, in its commencement and progress, was supported by wars of God's own command, is adduced in support of it.

In reply to this argument, I refer to what has been already stated as to Christ's having abolished the Jewish dispensation. The commands of God, alluded to, applied only to the Jews; theirs was a government of *this* world; the government of Christ is not so: that was a temporal constitution; the constitution of Christ's government is spiritual. Hence, says he, "*My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight,*" John xviii. 36. Nor does the example of Abraham, David, and other good men, under the former dispensation, afford better argument; some things were permitted to them which are totally inconsistent with the christian economy—for instance, polygamy and divorce, which our Saviour says were only suffered in those times of ignorance, in condescension to their comparatively small degree of light, to the infirmities of men, or the hardness of their hearts.

If, then, we as Christians cannot find a ground for this argument in favour of War in the conduct of the Jews, or in the examples of its greatest champions, let us go to Christ: here we shall surely fail, our enemies themselves being judges; nothing

of resistance—nothing of retaliation or revenge—of force opposed to force—is in Christ Jesus—all is submission, humility, and love. But, say some, he assumed this character that he might fulfil the law for our sakes : he suffered all this for us ; and it behoved him to do so in the character of Mediator which he sustained ; we know that “ he was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before his shearers, he was dumb and opened not his mouth ; ” but we are not to be so vain as to conceive that every part of Christ’s character is imitable by us. True ; but if he assumed that character that he might fulfil the law for us, it proves that we had been transgressors of that law. Now let me ask, shall we, because he did thus, continue transgressors, and reward his love by continued acts of rebellion ? If our religion teach us this, I cease to wonder that we pursue war, or other evil practices : and know, O vain man ! that however readily we admit what Jesus Christ did as Mediator, if we exclude his example, we have neither part nor lot in his salvation ; and if we imitate not the latter, we possess no proof of participating in the former. But a scripture quotation shall close this part of the subject : “ Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps ; who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again ; when he suffered, he threatened not ; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.” (1 Pet. ch. ii. ver. 21, 22, 23.) Here his mediation and example are united, and what God has joined let no man put asunder. I cannot with equal pleasure refer to the character of the professing christian monarchs, emperors, and kings of the earth, but their example is not of sufficient authority to support and justify the system of war. I see them so involved in the temper, the spirit, the views, and politics of this world, as to forego the temper, mind, and spirit of Christ : and although much is said of the establishment of Christianity by human laws, it is my *humble* belief, that true Christianity owes not its support to any such aids, but is superior to every such thing as the policy, the institutions, or laws of men. They may derive much advantage from it, if truth be admitted into their councils ; but it will not derive much advantage from them. This subject is too copious to dilate upon ; however, as the Emperor Constantine is the great champion

of these human defenders, he shall pass in review. I shall content myself with noticing those striking particulars in his conduct, which have led many to appeal to his example on this point. "Constantine," we are informed, "had observed the fatal miscarriages of the emperors, his predecessors, who had reposed confidence in the assistance of a multitude of gods; and whose wars, notwithstanding their zeal, had been generally unprosperous, and their ends unfortunate and untimely. On the other hand, he had observed that his father, who acknowledged one only supreme God and Governor of the World, had been generally prosperous. This determined him to choose this God, to whom he prayed to have him made known to himself, and that he would aid him in his then intended warlike expedition. He accordingly received a remarkable answer to his prayer, and saw a vision in the heavens—a pillar of light in the fashion of a cross, with a Greek inscription, *In this overcome*. This was at first matter of surprise and doubt; but in the night following, the Saviour appeared to him in a vision, with the cross in his hand, which he had shewed him the day before, commanding him to make a royal standard like it, and to cause it to be carried before him in his wars, as a token or ensign both of victory and safety." This was commission enough to an ambitious man, already near the zenith of power, and aiming at the pinnacle of grandeur, honour, and success. This, like other accidental events, or fictitious stories, wrought on the minds of his soldiers, and they only wanted to be led on to obtain victory; fired with the fury of men in a crusade, they were irresistible. The emperor at the same time professing Christianity, it became the prevailing religion of the times; but, it is to be feared, less from conviction than from the fashion or custom; and, where it was not professed, force often supplied the place of conviction or better argument; and in the same way, nations have frequently since been baptized with the dagger at their throats, to increase its reputed converts.

Two or three short remarks on this extraordinary anecdote will be needful. First, is it compatible with the general tenor of scripture to admit, or even to suppose, that, after Christ had finished his work of peace and good-will to men; and had told his followers, that his kingdom was not of this world; he would, three

hundred years after, appear, and even descend from heaven, to encourage the sanguinary operations of the sword; and after having in the foregoing centuries, suffered his gospel to rise and prosper by persecutions, by trials, by afflictions; and taught his disciples the doctrine of humility, submission, obedience, and self-denial, he should turn the tables on his enemies, and authorize men, who were Christian in little else than the name, to go forth and slaughter their opposers? This appears so gross a contradiction of the principles of Scripture, and of the spirit of Christ, that the understanding revolts at the idea, and cannot, for a moment, admit it.

In the next place, if we review the state of Christianity itself at that period, many errors had crept into the church; lax in its discipline, divided in its doctrines and opinions, error had made great progress; and even in some of the men who stood foremost among the advocates of Christ in that day, we meet with many ridiculous, inconsistent, and immoral facts; indeed the purity of the gospel was far corrupted, and in that baleful hour religion was first made the engine of state policy, and then the church, or, at least, men professing to be members of it, were hired for a standing army. For these reasons, I cannot but think, that this story of Constantine is a mere figment, invented to serve a particular turn, and which, from the fatal credit it has gained, has imposed on millions who bear the christian name.

If history and facts were to be adduced, there might be many instances brought forward where Christians, impelled by a true spirit, have, in the total renunciation of war, been defended from their enemies, and preserved an honour to their profession. The Quakers, at this day, are living witnesses of the truth of this remark; as are also the Moravians.

The submission of acknowledged good men to the practice of war, will, on investigation, be found equally nugatory to the support of the error. I admit good men have defended the principle, but they did it as patriots, not as Christians—as lovers of their country, not as the followers of Christ. Others have gone into the practice, and yet seemed to carry the habits of piety about them; but it appears to me as a defect and imperfection in that character, which, in other respects, might be allowed to be good. For how does it sink our ideas of exalted piety, and of the spirit and mind

of Christ residing in a heart, which is ready at the next hour, if it be so ordered, to devise and scatter death and destruction all around! Peter was a good man, but although his intentions were good, he sometimes failed in practice. In the spirit of retaliation and human affection towards his Master, he drew his sword and cut off an enemy's ear; and did he obtain commendation?—No: "Put up thy sword," said the meek Saviour, "for *all* they that take the sword shall perish by the sword:" and how well this prediction has been verified, let matter of fact declare. On the whole, the providence of God seems to have permitted this evil, and borne with the manners of men, and especially of some who are acknowledged to be good men in the main, in the same way in which he allowed polygamy and divorce under the Old Testament; namely, because of the hardness of men's hearts, and of the darkness of the times. But that such practices should now be followed on this account, is as unreasonable as to suppose, that the duplicity of Jacob, and the sins of David, form an apology for our imitation of their crimes.

I have sometimes given scope to my imagination, and fancied myself engaged in war, in the defence of the best cause for which the sword was ever drawn—civil liberty, and the deliverance of the oppressed from the hand of tyranny; and have, for the moment, supposed it to be lawful; I have anticipated the sound of the trumpet leading on to the charge, and then have plunged amidst the roaring of cannon, or the clangor of arms in the heat of action—either leading on or led, my bosom swelling with the importance of the cause, my heart beating high, I looked on death with defiance, and on my foes with disdain, determining to conquer or perish in the attempt. All fresh from this bloody scene, I have brought my temper, my bosom, my heart, to the great Exemplar of Christian perfection, and shame has covered me.—What trait of the mind of Christ did I follow when I defied death?—Did I do it as a Christian?—Ah, no! Could my hopes of endless glory be certain during the eventful and bloody scene? Did the spirit of the christian religion, or the pattern of the holy Jesus, inspire me with disdain for my enemies, while piercing their vitals, and sending their souls into the shades of death?—No: he commanded me to love my enemies, but I have been destroying them; he has

enjoined submission and suffering, but I have sought for superiority, victory and conquest. On the whole, let that man stand forth, if earth can produce him, who can say he goes into action and engages in the heat of war, in that spirit which he is conscious will be approved and owned by the Judge of all the earth, when all our subterfuges and self-impositions must be renounced; and if such an one should arise, and declare that he could do so, I for my own part should infer, that a depraved heart had perverted his judgment. But if it be admitted, that the temper of mind necessary for the action of war, is inconsistent with Christianity, I have all I ask; and those who argue for war have to support an allowed indefensible scheme. But let professing Christians beware how they support it, for in proportion as they give their aid to it, they impede the real progress of Christ's religion.

I shall now notice, and endeavour to answer, some of the most popular objections in favour of the fighting system. It is said, that if any nation were to adopt the pacific conduct I have recommended, the surrounding nations of the world would beset and swallow it up. But be it remembered, that I expect this conduct only to proceed from the effects of Christianity;* and this, if real and effectual, supposes a degree, a large degree, of confidence and dependence upon God; and were I to bring Scripture, or matter of fact to prove that such a people were never forsaken nor confounded, it would be like holding a taper to the sun. Who ever trusted in God, and were confounded? Who ever depended on his aid, and were not delivered? Who, in the exercise of obedience to his precepts, were ever forsaken? The annals of time cannot produce an instance—the annals of time can produce thousands against it. Let facts speak; the man, the family, the society, the nation, who live in obedience to his commands, have God's peculiar attention: his arm is an invincible shield; and when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him: but if, in the wise and inscrutable ways of his providence, he permit some to suffer, in order to excite stronger zeal in others, and to spread truth by their sufferings, this is no argument in favour of resistance by violence; nor should we impute their sufferings merely to the conquest and superiority of their enemies, but to divine permission,

Let it not be forgotten that we are a *professing* christian nation.

that thousands may be won by the firmness and constancy, the patience and exalted piety, with which they meet the terrors of their persecutors. The conquest is on their side; and they go by the very means of persecution (however evil the intention) from an inferior to a superior enjoyment, from earth to heaven: in this Christianity at first triumphed; not by the law of retaliation, or force, but by a constant, faithful adherence to the law of Christ. And, oh! had reformers and their followers stopped there, instead of endeavouring to support the cause of piety by temporal power and the secular arm, the spirit of Christ had still been seen triumphant. But the idea of maintaining true religion, pure and undefiled religion, by pomp and splendour, by power and the sword, is like death in the pot, destructive of the true notion and spirit of Christianity: in false apprehensions of external glory and worldly splendour lay the ground of this error, which the Scriptures, the example of Christ himself, and the experience of good men, uniformly combat. "The idea of a temporal Messiah," says a good writer, "is mean and carnal: this mean idea hath possessed the minds of the professed disciples of Christ in all ages. The apostles indeed soon struggled through such low secular notions; but a very large succession of their pretended followers have expired incurable under this disease."*

That the Christian Church is not indebted for its existence and success, even in this age of the world, to the sword, has lately been instanced in the history of the Quakers, and of the Moravians, whose example in this respect, it is much to be regretted, is so little followed.

Another argument which I have heard, and am grieved that I do not wrong human nature in reporting it, is, that were it not for the intervention of wars, the inhabitants of the earth would be too numerous; and that wars therefore are necessary to prevent a pressure which the earth could not sustain. Providence, say some, ordains or permits the continuance of war to thin the ranks of life, and take the superfluous out of the way. Humanity, to say nothing of religion, shudders at such an argument!—It might suit a Nero, an Attila, or a Tamerlane, but only with wretches of that sanguinary cast can the argument have any weight. For

* Claude's Essay, Vol. II. page 237, note 2.

an answer to this I would only refer its advocates to their own bosom ; to the terrors, the consciousness, the horror, which must shortly awaken the keen sensations of the guilt of bloodshed, and condemn them at that bar where hypocrisy shall lose its mask, and the cruel meet with a full reward. The argument can have no weight with a heart susceptible of human sensibility ; much less with those persons who study and imitate the compassion of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Another objection is founded on the argument of natural, or civil right, and infers the justice of resistance, in defence of those rights and liberties, which are by many esteemed dearer than life itself, and to maintain which thousands have died.*

This objection has a degree of weight, and may be tenable on the score of natural religion. It was under this case that the Jews often fought, and had the divine command ; and under this case also many of the Gentile nations have resisted the invasions of tyrants and oppressors, and a system of human policy may justify such resistance to the oppressions of tyranny :—it has indeed been lauded under the name of patriotism ; but Christianity calls on us to renounce it for submission, for suffering for Christ's sake, and for the exercise of patience and endurance. To make it lawful for Christians to wage war, some abatement must necessarily be made, from the positive commands of Christ "to love our enemies," "to do good to them that hate us," "to return good for evil ;"—commands of equal import with those which require us to love our neighbour as ourselves, or "to love God supremely : " commands which are of equal authority with those which instituted all the ordinances of the gospel, and, deserving of no less regard. To what a wonderful degree of prejudice then must the minds of professing Christians have risen to question these commands, or rob them of their effect ! You see I take the liberty of differing from the general sentiments of allowed good men on this subject ; but remember, I am accountable to none but God. No human tribunal can with justice interfere with the rights of conscience : and I have a hope, that if an interchange of sentiments were possible, I should find thousands and millions who think with me ; and although I infer nothing from multitude, yet I think the hope is not vain. The dreadful avidity with which war

* England can witness this in her Hamdens, Russells, Sidneys, &c.

has been pursued of late by the French nation, by the continental allies, and the deep, affecting, and determined part which our own country has taken in it, will, I trust, arouse professing Christians to a consideration of their ways, and to think seriously of discussing the lawfulness of war, and the nature of those arguments by which it is supported; which could not fail, in some degree, to remove from before the minds of men the veil which has so long and so unhappily obscured their moral vision. This must be the case before obedience to Christ is much more prevalent, or before it becomes universal; a blessing which we have reason to expect, and confidence to pray for, supported as we are by many of the prophetic promises of Scripture, which remain yet to be fulfilled. It were to be wished that this might be made the subject for some academic or scholastic prize. If treated in a proper manner, it could not fail to make the question more popular, and the subject better understood. The miseries of war, its expenses, the national losses and the immoral effects caused by it, furnish matter too copious for me to urge within my present compass and design; and they are worthy of much abler and more minute discussion than mine. With a hope, and some degree of expectation, that such a discussion may hereafter prevail, I daily use that petition of my Master—"Thy kingdom come."

I am, dear Sir,

Yours, &c.

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AS THEY RELATE TO
WAR.

ADDRESSED TO THOSE WHO PROFESS TO HAVE A REGARD FOR

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BY THOMAS CLARKSON, M. A.

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AN ESSAY

ON

THE DOCTRINES, &c.

ACCUSTOMED as Christians have been, for many centuries, to consider the profession of arms as singularly honourable, and martial achievements, however bloody, as the most glorious of human exploits, it must be difficult for them to see the following passages of Scripture, through a clear, pure, and uncorrupted medium; viz. "I say unto you, resist not evil; love your enemies; do good to them that hate, and pray for them that despitefully use and persecute you." The prejudices of some, the interests of others, and custom with all, have induced a general belief that these, and similar passages, have no relation to wars. But it may be important to all, but more particularly to those who desire to be accounted real followers of Christ, to know in what manner their first Fathers, the early Christians, understood them; to know how those persons understood them, who were converted by the Apostles themselves, or who had opportunities of interpretation from the very lips of their immediate successors; who believed with all their hearts, that the New Testament was of divine origin; that the precepts it contained were not to be dispensed with to suit particular cases, without the imputation of evil; and who chose rather to die by the hand of the public executioner, than to do that which appeared to them to be wrong. Now we intend to furnish the reader with such knowledge, and to prove to him, that long after the introduction of the Christian Religion into the world, that is, *while the lamp of Christianity burnt pure and bright*, not only the Fathers of the Church held it unlawful for Christians to bear arms, but those, who

came within the pale of it, *abstained from the use of them*, and this to the certain loss of their lives; and that *it was not till Christianity became corrupted, that its followers became soldiers*. But if this should be shown to be the case, it is to be hoped that many, who now profess to be Christians, will seriously re-examine those passages of Scripture, on the consideration of which the first Fathers, contrary to their notions and their established habits, gave up the profession of arms: and that they will endeavour to explain, in a manner satisfactory to themselves, the reason why, on a subject of such vast importance, there should be such an essential difference between the primitive and the modern faith.

With respect to the opinions of the first Christian Writers after the Apostles, or of those who are usually called the Fathers of the Church, relative to War, I believe we shall find them alike for nearly three hundred years, if not for a longer period. JUSTIN the Martyr, one of the earliest of those in the second century, *considers war as unlawful*. He makes, also, *the devil the author of all war*.

TATIAN, who was the disciple of Justin, in his oration to the Greeks, *speaks in the same terms on the same subject*.

From the different expressions of CLEMENS, of Alexandria, a contemporary of the latter, we collect his opinion to be *decisive also against the lawfulness of war*.

TERTULLIAN, who may be mentioned next in order of time, *strongly condemned the practice of bearing arms*. I shall give one or two extracts from him on this subject. In his Dissertation "on the Worship of Idols," he says, "Though the soldiers came to John and received a certain form to be observed, and though the centurion believed, yet Jesus Christ, by disarming Peter, disarmed every soldier afterward; for custom never sanctions an unlawful act." And in his "Soldier's Garland," he says, "Can a soldier's life be lawful, when Christ has pronounced, that he who lives by the sword, shall perish by the sword? Can one who professes the peaceable doctrines of the Gospel, be a soldier, when it is his duty not so much as to go to law? And *shall he who is not to revenge his own wrongs, be instrumental in bringing others into chains, imprisonment, torment, death?*"

CYPRIAN, in his Epistle to DONATUS, speaks thus — "Suppose

thyself with me on the top of some very exalted eminence, and from thence looking down upon the appearances of things below. Let our prospect take in the whole horizon, and let us view with the indifference of persons not concerned in them, the various motions and agitations of human life. Thou wilt then, I dare say, have a real compassion for the circumstances of mankind, and for the posture in which this view will represent them. And when thou reflectest upon thy condition, thy thoughts will rise *in transports of gratitude and praise to God for having made thy escape from the pollutions of the world.* The things thou wilt principally observe will be the highways beset with robbers, the seas with pirates; encampments, marches, and all the terrible forms of war and bloodshed. When a *single murder is committed it shall be deemed, perhaps, a crime; but that crime shall commence a virtue, when committed under the shelter of public authority: so that punishment is not rated by the measure of guilt; but the more enormous the size of the wickedness is, so much the greater is the chance of impunity.*" These are the sentiments of CYPRIAN; and that they were the result of his views of Christianity, as taken from the divine writings, there can be no doubt. If he had stood upon the same eminence, and beheld the same sights, previously to his conversion, he would, like others, have neither thought piracy dishonourable, nor war inglorious.

LACTANTIUS, who lived some time after CYPRIAN, in his Treatise concerning the true worship of God, says, "*It can never be lawful for a righteous man to go to war, whose warfare is in righteousness itself.*"

To these may be added ARCHELAUS, AMBROSE, CHRYSOSTOM, JEROM, and CYRIL, all of whom were of opinion, *that it was unlawful for Christians to go to war.*

With respect to the practice of the early Christians, which is the next point to be considered, it may be observed, that there is no well authenticated instance upon record of Christians entering into the army for nearly the two first centuries; but it is true, on the other hand, that they had declined the military profession, as one in which it was not lawful for them to engage.

The first species of evidence to this point may be found in the following facts, which reach from about the year 170, to about the

year 195. Cassius had rebelled against the Emperor Verus, and was slain in a short time afterwards. Clodius Albinus in one part of the world, and Pescennius Niger in another, had rebelled against the Emperor Severus, and both were slain. Now suspicion fell, as it always did in these times, if any thing went wrong, upon the Christians, as having been concerned upon these occasions. But TERTULLIAN tells us, in his "Discourse to Scapula," that this suspicion was totally groundless. "You defamed us," (Christians) says he, "by charging us with having been guilty of treason to our emperors; but not a Christian could be found in any of the rebel armies, whether commanded by Cassius, Albinus, or Niger." These, then, are important facts, for the armies in question were very extensive. Cassius was master of all Syria with its four Legions; Niger, of the Asiatic and Egyptian Legions; and Albinus, of those of Britain; which Legions together contained between a third and a half of the standing Legions of Rome: and the circumstance, that no Christian was to be found in them, is the more remarkable, because, according to the same TERTULLIAN, Christianity had then spread over almost the whole of the known world.

A second species of evidence, may be collected from expressions and declarations in the works of certain authors of those times. JUSTIN the Martyr, and TATIAN, *make distinctions between soldiers and Christians*; and CLEMENS, of Alexandria, gives the Christians, who were contemporary with him, the appellation of the "*Peaceable*," thus distinguishing them from others of the world; and he says expressly, that the "*Peaceable*," never used sword or bow, meaning by these the instruments of war.

A third species of evidence, may be found in the belief, which the writers of these times had, that the Prophecy of Isaiah, which predicted that men should turn their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning-hooks, was then in the act of completion.

IRENEUS, who flourished about the year 180, affirms that this famous Prophecy had been completed in his time; "*for the Christians*," says he, "*have changed their swords and their lances into instruments of peace, and they know not how to fight.*" JUSTIN the Martyr, who was contemporary with IRENEUS,

asserts the same thing, which he could not have done, if the Christians in his time had engaged in war. "That the Prophecy," says he, "is fulfilled, you have good reason to believe; for *we who in times past killed one another, do not now fight with our enemies.*" And here it is observable, that the Greek word "*fight*" does not mean to strike, or to beat, or to give a blow, but actually to *fight as in war*; and the Greek word "*enemy*," does not mean a private adversary, or one who has injured us, but *an enemy of the State*; and the sentence which follows that which has been given, puts the matter out of all doubt. TERTULLIAN, who lived after both, speaks in these remarkable words—"Deny that these (meaning the turning of swords into ploughshares) are the things prophesied of, *when you see what you see*, or that they are the things fulfilled *when you read what you read*; but if you deny neither of these positions, then you must confess that the Prophecy has been accomplished, *as far as the practice of every individual is concerned, to whom it is applicable.*" We might go from TERTULLIAN even as far as THEODORET, if it were necessary, to shew that the Prophecy in question was considered as in the act of completion in those times.

The fourth and last species of evidence may be found in the assertions of CELSUS, and in the reply of ORIGEN to that writer. CELSUS, who lived at the end of the second century, attacked the Christian Religion. He made it one of his charges against the Christians, that *they refused in his times to bear arms for the Emperor, even in the case of necessity, and when their services would have been accepted.* He told them further, that if the rest of the Empire were of their opinion, it would soon be overrun by the Barbarians. Now CELSUS dared not have brought this charge against the Christians, if the fact had not been publicly known. But let us see whether it was denied by those who were of opinion that his work demanded a reply. The person who wrote against him in favour of Christianity, was ORIGEN, who lived in the third century. But ORIGEN, in his answer, *admits the facts as stated by Celsus, that the Christians would not bear arms in his time, and justifies them* for refusing the practice on the principle of the *unlawfulness of war.*

And as the early Christians would not enter into the armies

so there is good ground to suppose that, when they became converted there, they relinquished their profession. We find from TERTULLIAN, in his "Soldier's Garland," that many in his time, *immediately on their conversion to Christianity, quitted the military service.* We are told, also, by ARCHELAUS, who flourished under Probus in the year 278, that many Roman soldiers, who had embraced Christianity after having witnessed the piety and generosity of Marcellus, *immediately forsook the profession of arms.* We are told, also, by EUSEBIUS, that about the same time *Numbers laid aside a military life, and became private persons rather than abjure their religion."*

Here then is a collection of evidence and facts, all tending to show, that for nearly the first two hundred years after the introduction of Christianity into the world, none of those, who professed to be Christians, would either take upon themselves, or continue the profession of soldiers. But as an objection may be made to the foregoing statements, it will be proper to notice it in this place.

It may be said that the military oath, *which all were obliged to take alike in the Roman armies,* and which was to be repeated annually, *was full of idolatry;* that the Roman standards were *all considered as gods and had divine honours paid them by the soldiery;* and that images also, of the Emperors, which were either fixed upon these standards, or placed in the midst of them in a temple in the camp, *were to be worshipped in the same manner.* Now these impious customs were interwoven with the military service. *No one soldier in the Roman armies was exempted from them.* It may be urged, therefore, that no Christian could submit to such services. Indeed, when a person was suspected of being a Christian in those times, he was instantly taken to the altar to sacrifice, it being notorious that if he were a Christian, he would not sacrifice, though the loss of his life was the certain consequence of his refusal. Is it not therefore, an objector may say, to be presumed, that *these idolatrous tests and customs operated as the great cause,* why Christians refused to enter into the army, or why they left it when converted, as mentioned in a former page.

That these tests operated as a cause, that is, as one cause, must be allowed. This is stated by TERTULLIAN himself. He makes it one of his arguments against the lawfulness

of serving in the army. Does he not say, "that the military oath and the baptismal vow were inconsistent with each other, the one being the sign of Christ, the other of the Devil"? Does he not also call the military standard "The Rival, or Enemy of Christ"? But all history confirms the fact. Take the following instance to the point. Marinus, according to EUSEBIUS, was a man of family and fortune, and an officer in a legion, which in the year 260, was stationed at Cæsarea, of Palestine. One of the centurion's rods happened to become vacant in this legion, and Marinus was appointed to it. But just at this moment another, next to him in rank, accused him before the tribunal of being a Christian, stating, "that the laws *did not allow a Christian who refused to sacrifice to the Emperors*, to hold any dignity in the army." Achæus the judge, asked Marinus if it was true that he had become a Christian? He acknowledged it. Three hours were then allowed him to consider *whether he would sacrifice or die*. When the time expired he chose the latter. But the history of those times is full of instances of this sort. Indeed, so desirous were the early Christians of keeping clear of idolatry in every shape, that they avoided every custom, which appeared in the least degree connected with it. Thus when a largess was given in honour of the Emperors, L. Septimus Severus, the father, and M. Aurelius Caracalla, the son, a solitary soldier, as we learn from TERTULLIAN, was seen carrying the garland, which had been given him on that occasion, in his hand, while the rest wore it upon their head. The Church at this time held it unlawful for any Christian to wear the garland, because it belonged to the dress of the Heathen Priests, when they were sacrificing to their gods. On being interrogated by his commander why he refused wearing it, he replied, that he had become a Christian. He was immediately punished before the army, and sent into prison.

But though, unquestionably, the idolatrous services required of the soldiers of those times, hindered Christians from entering into the armies, and compelled those, who were converted in them, to leave them, nothing is more true, than that the belief, that *it was unlawful for Christians to fight*, occasioned an equal abhorrence of a military life.

There were *three notions*, upon which this belief was grounded. The first was, that it was their duty, according to the Scriptures, *to love their enemies*. At this time, the world was full of divisions and bitterness. The Jews looked upon the Gentiles as dogs and outcasts, so as not even to tell them their road when asked, or give them a draught of water. The Gentiles, on the other hand, considered the Jews as the enemies of all nations, and as the haters of mankind. Nations, too, were set against each other, on account of former and existing wars. JUSTIN the Martyr, in allusion to this unhappy state of things, says, "We, who once hated each other, and delighted in mutual quarrels and slaughter, and, according to custom, refused to sit at the same fire with those who were not of our own tribe and party, *now since the appearance of Christ in the world, live familiarly with them, pray for our enemies*, and endeavour to persuade them, who hate us unjustly, to order their lives according to the excellent precepts of Christ, that so they may have good hope to obtain the same rewards with us from the great Lord and Judge of all things." Such was the practice of the early Christians, as founded on this tenet. TERTULLIAN says, "it was their peculiar character to love their enemies;" and ATHENAGORAS, JULIAN, and LACTANTIUS, make "this their character to have been a proof of the divinity of their religion." It was impossible, therefore, while they embraced this heavenly tenet, (*even had the idolatrous services of the army been dispensed with*) that they could have appeared in the shape of warriors.

The *second notion* was, (and it continued while Christianity was pure and unmixed with the interpretation of political men,) that it became them, in obedience to the commands of Christ, *to abstain from all manner of violence, and to become distinguishable as the followers of peace*. The sublime way, in which they viewed the command in question, may be judged of in a more appropriate manner by the interpretation, which ISIDORE of PELUSIUM has left us of it. "The great King of Heaven," says he, "came down from above to deliver to the world rules for an heavenly conduct, which he has placed in a certain *mode of contending quite contrary to that in the Olympic Games*. There, he that fights and gets the better, receives the Crown. Here, he

that is struck, and bears it meekly, has the honour and applause. There, he that returns blow for blow—Here, he that turns the other cheek, is celebrated in the theatre of Angels; for the victory is not measured by revenge, but by a wise and generous patience. This is the new law of Crowns.—This is the new way of contending for the mastery." We find, accordingly, from ATHENAGORAS and other early writers, that the Christians of their time *abstained, when they were struck, from striking again*, and that they carried their principles so far, as even to *refuse to go to law with those who injured them*. It was impossible, therefore, again, while they interpreted the Scriptures in this manner (*though nothing idolatrous had been required of them*) "to have used the sword or the bow," or indeed any other weapon; for the purposes of war.

The third notion was that the slaughter of men in war was neither more nor less than direct murder. They had such an abhorrence of murder, and of being thought to be implicated, in the very smallest degree, in so atrocious a crime, that they refused to be present where the life of a fellow-creature was taken away, whatever was the occasion. ATHENAGORAS, TATIAN, THEOPHILUS ANTIOCHENUS, and MINUTIUS FELIX, all agree in asserting, that they kept away from the gladiatorial shows; and they give us their reasons for so doing. "This we do," says THEOPHILUS, *"lest we should become partakers of the murders committed there."* A similar reason is also given by ATHENAGORAS on this occasion; "Who is there," says he, "that does not prize the shows of the gladiators, which your Emperors make for the people? but we, thinking that there is very little difference, *whether a man be the author or spectator of murder*, keep away from all such sights." And here it may be observed, that the gladiators themselves were generally prisoners of war, or reputed enemies; and that the slaughter of these was by the public authority, and sanctioned, as in war, by the State. Now, what conclusion are we to draw from these premises? Can we think it possible that those who thought an attendance at the gladiatorial spectacles criminal on the principle, *that he who stood by was a murderer (though the murder was sanctioned by authority,*) should not have also thought it criminal to engage in the military service, upon the principle *that it was unlawful to fight?*

In short, the belief of the unlawfulness of War on the three notions just explained (independently of any connexion of Idolatry with the military service) appears to have been universal among Christians of those times. Every Christian Writer of the second century, who notices the subject, makes it *unlawful for Christians to bear arms*. And as this belief seems to have been universal, so it operated as an impediment to a military life, quite as much as the Idolatry that was connected with it, of which the following instances, taken by way of illustration, though at somewhat different periods, may suffice.

The first I propose to mention shall be, where there was an objection to entering into the military service upon *this very principle*.

Maximilian having been brought before the tribunal, in order to be enrolled as a Soldier, Dion, the Proconsul, asked him his name. Maximilian, turning to him, replied, "Why wouldst thou know my name? *I am a Christian, and cannot fight.*"

Then Dion ordered him to be enrolled, and when he was enrolled it was recited out of the Register, that he was five feet ten inches high. Immediately after this, Dion bade the officer mark him. But Maximilian refused to be marked, still asserting that he was a Christian; upon which Dion instantly replied, "Bear Arms, or thou shalt die."

To this Maximilian answered, "*I cannot fight, if I die; I am not a Soldier of this world, but a Soldier of God.*" Dion then said, "Who has persuaded thee to behave thus?" Maximilian answered, "My own mind, and he who called me." Dion then spoke to his father, and bade him persuade his son. But his father observed, that his son knew his own mind, and what it was best for him to do.

After this had passed, Dion addressed Maximilian, again in these words, "Take thy Arms, and receive the Mark." "I can receive," says Maximilian, "no such mark. I have already the Mark of Christ;" upon which Dion said, "I will send thee quickly to thy Christ:" "Thou mayest do so," says Maximilian; "but the glory will be mine."

Dion then bade the officer mark him. But Maximilian still persisted in refusing; and spoke thus: "I cannot receive the mark of this world, and if thou shouldst give me the mark, I

will destroy it. It will avail nothing. I am a Christian, and it is not lawful for me to wear such a mark about my neck, when I have received the saving mark of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, whom thou knowest not, who died to give us life, and whom God gave for our sins. Him all we Christians obey.—Him we follow, as the Restorer of our life, and the Author of our salvation.”

Dion instantly replied to this, “Take thy Arms, and receive the Mark, or thou shalt suffer a miserable death.”—“But I shall not perish,” says Maximilian: “my name is already enrolled with Christ,—*I cannot fight.*”

Dion said, “Consider then thy youth, and bear Arms. The profession of Arms becomes a young man.” Maximilian replied, “*My Arms are with the Lord. I cannot fight for any earthly consideration. I am now a Christian.*”

Dion, the Proconsul, said, “Among the Life Guards of our masters, Dioclesian and Maximinian, and Constantius and Maximus, there are Christian Soldiers, and they fight.” Maximilian answered, “They know best what is expedient for them; *but I am a Christian, and it is unlawful to do evil.*”

Dion said, “Take thy Arms; despise not the profession of a Soldier, lest thou perish miserably.”—“But I shall not perish,” says Maximilian; “and if I should leave this world, my soul will live with Christ the Lord.”

Dion then ordered his name to be struck from the roll; and, when this was done, he proceeded, “Because out of thy rebellious spirit, thou hast refused to bear arms, thou shalt be punished according to thy deserts, for an example to others;” and then he delivered the following sentence: “Maximilian! because thou hast, with a rebellious spirit, refused to bear arms, thou art to die by the sword.”—Maximilian replied, “Thanks be to God.”

He was twenty years, three months, and seventeen days old; and, when he was led to the place of execution, he spoke thus:—“My dear brethren, endeavour with all your might, that it may be your portion to see the Lord, and that he may give you such a Crown;” and then, with a pleasant countenance, he said to his father, “Give the executioner the soldiers’

coat thou hast gotten for me; and, when I shall receive thee in the company of the blessed martyrs, we may rejoice together with the Lord."

After this he suffered. His mother, Pompeiana, obtained his body from the judge, and conveyed it to Carthage, and buried it near the place where the body of CYPRIAN the martyr lay. And thirteen days after this his mother died, and was buried in the same place. And Victor, his father, returned to his habitation, rejoicing and praising God, that he had sent before such a gift to the Lord, himself expecting to follow after.

We shall only observe upon this instance, that it is nearly pure and unmixed, or that it is but little connected with idolatrous circumstances; or rather, that the *unlawfulness of fighting* was principally urged by Maximilian as a reason against entering into a military life. Let us now find a case, where, when a person was converted in the army, he left it, pleading *this principle* again, as one among others, for his dereliction of it.

Marcellus was a centurion in the Legion called Trajana. On a festival, given in honour of the birth-day of Galerius, he threw down his military belt at the head of the Legion, and, in the face of the standards, declared with a loud voice, *that he would no longer serve in the Army; for that he had become a Christian.* "I hold in detestation," says he, addressing himself to all the Soldiers, "the worship of your gods; gods, which are made of wood and stone; gods which are deaf and dumb." So far Marcellus, it appears, seems to, have been influenced in his desertion of a military life *by the Idolatry connected with it.* But let us hear him further on this subject—"It is not lawful," says he, "*for a Christian, who is the servant of Christ the Lord, to bear Arms for any earthly consideration.*" After a delay of more than three months in prison after this transaction, which delay was allowed to the purpose of sparing him, he was brought before the Prefect. There he had an opportunity of correcting his former expressions. But, as he persisted in the same sentiments, he suffered. It is remarkable that, almost immediately after his execution, Cassian, who was the notary to the same Legion, refused to serve any longer, by publicly throwing his pen and account-book on the ground, and declaring, at the

same time, that the sentence of Marcellus was unjust. When taken up by the order of Aurelianus Agricolaus, he is described by the record preserved by Ruinart, to *have avowed the same sentiments* as Marcellus; and like him to have suffered death.

Let us now find a case where a converted Soldier left the army, pleading *the same principle*. Martin, of whom Sulpicius Severus says so much, had been bred to the profession of Arms, but on his conversion to Christianity, declined it. In the answer, which he gave to Julian the Apostate for his conduct on this occasion, we find him making use of these words, "*I am a Christian, and therefore I cannot fight.*"

And here it may be observed, that though the noble Martyrs now mentioned, grounded their apology for declining the military service, some, on account of the idolatry which belonged to it, and others of the unlawfulness of fighting; yet that, which was more usually set up by them, when they were brought before the tribunals, was comprehended in the simple declaration, that *having now become Christians, they could be no longer Soldiers*. Let us quote the instance of Tarachus, another military man and martyr, and let this serve for all. Tarachus underwent his examination at Tarsus in Cilicia. Numerianus Maximus sat as the President on the judgment-seat. "What is your name?" says Maximus. "I am called Tarachus (says the prisoner) by my father, but my military name is Victor." The President goes on: "And what is your condition?" The prisoner replies, "I have led a military life, and am a Roman. I was born at Claudiopolis, a city of Isauria, and, *because I am a Christian, I have abandoned my profession of a Soldier.*" Such was the answer usually given to the tribunals on such occasions, without any specification as to which of the two principles had influenced the conduct of those who were brought before them: and, whenever we hear of such general apology or answer, we cannot doubt that they, who made use of it, were actuated by both. *The unlawfulness of fighting* was as much a principle of religion in the early times of Christianity as *the refusal of sacrifice to the Heathen Gods*; and they operated equally to prevent men from entering into the army, and to drive them out of it on their

conversion. Indeed these principles always went together, where the profession of arms presented itself as an occupation for a Christian. He, who refused the profession, on account of the idolatry connected with it, would have refused it on account of the unlawfulness of fighting. And he, who refused it on account of the guilt of fighting, would have refused it on account of the idolatrous services it required. *Both and each of them were impediments, in the early times of Christianity, to a military life.*

Having now shown what were the sentiments of the Fathers of the Christian Church, and what was the practice of those that belonged to it, for two centuries, on the subject of war, we come to the proof of the third and last Proposition, namely, that *as the lamp of Christianity burnt bright in those early times, so those who were illuminated by it, declined the military profession; that as its flame shone less clear, they had less objection to it; and that it was not till Christianity became corrupted, that its followers became soldiers.* Thus in the two first centuries, when Christianity was the purest, there are no Christian soldiers upon record. In the third century, when it became less pure, there is frequent mention of such soldiers. And in the fourth, when its corruption was fixed, Christians entered generally upon the profession of arms, with as little hesitation as they entered upon any other occupation of life.

That there were no Christian soldiers, at any rate upon record, for the best part of two centuries, has already been made apparent.

That Christianity also was purest in these times, there can be no doubt. Let us look at the character which is given of the first Christians by ATENAGORAS, JUSTIN the Martyr, MINUTIUS FELIX, and others of the early Christian writers. According to these, they were plain and neat in their apparel, and frugal in their furniture. They were temperate in their eating and drinking. They relinquished all the diversions of the times in which they saw any tendency to evil. They were chaste in their conversation, tempering mirth with gravity. They were modest and chaste in their deportment and manners. They were punctual to their words and engagements. They were such lovers of

truth, that, on being asked if they were Christians, they never denied it, though death was the consequence. They loved each other as brethren, and called one another by that name. They were kind, and courteous, and charitable beyond all example. They abstained from all manner of violence. They prayed for those who persecuted them. They were patterns of humility and patience. They made no sacrifices of their consciences, but would persevere in that which was right, never refusing to die for their religion. This is the character which is given of them by the different writers of those times.

That their conduct was altered in the third century, where we are now to view it, we may collect from indisputable authority. It was stated, some time ago, that a Christian soldier was punished for refusing to wear a garland, like the rest of his comrades, on a public occasion. This man, it appears, had been converted whilst in the army, and objected to the ceremony on that account. Now TERTULLIAN tells us that this soldier *was blamed for his unseasonable zeal*, as it was called, *by some of the Christians at that time, though all Christians before considered the wearing of such a garland as unlawful and profane*. This blame or censure is the first expression upon record, from which we may date the beginning of conformity on the part of the early Christians *with the opinions of the world*. There were then, as TERTULLIAN confesses, certain Christian Casuists, who, it appears, had so far degenerated from the pure principles of their ancestors, as to think that many of the Heathen customs might be complied with, though strictly forbidden by the Church; in fact, *that they might go any length*, without the just imputation of idolatry, *provided they did not sacrifice to the Pagan Gods, or become Heathen Priests*. Indeed, his whole book, "on the Worship of Idols," is a continued satire *on the occasional conformity of his brethren in the beginning of the third century, or, in other words, of an occasional mercenary compliance, on their part, with the Pagan Worship*. At this time there is no question but the Christian discipline began to relax. To the ease, which the Christians enjoyed from the death of Antoninus to the tenth year of Severus, is to be ascribed the corruption that ensued. This corruption we find to have spread rapidly. TERTULLIAN lived long enough to know

that several, bearing the name of Christians, but who were no doubt the disciples of the Casuists just mentioned, had entered into the Roman armies. This fact we find in his "Apology;" for when the Pagans charged the Christians, as they had pretty constantly done, with being useless to the commonwealth, he answers the accusation in part by saying, that they were then Christians in the military service of their country. "We serve," says he, "with you and your armies;" a very different answer this, to that which ORIGEN gave Celsus on a similar charge respecting what had been the state of things in the second century, as appears in a former page! But the corruption did not stop here. The same TERTULLIAN was enabled to furnish us with the extraordinary instance of *manufacturers of Idols* being admitted into the *Ecclesiastical order*. Many corruptions are also noticed in this century by other writers. CYPRIAN complained of them, as they existed in the middle; and EUSEBIUS, as they existed at the end of it; and both attributed them to the ease and security which the Christians had enjoyed. The latter gives us a melancholy account of their change. They had begun to live in fine houses, and to indulge in luxuries. But, above all, they had begun to be *envious* and *quarrelsome*, and to *dissemble*, and to *cheat*, and to *falsify their word*, so that they had lost the character, which Pliny, an adversary to their religion, had been obliged to give of them, and which they had retained for more than a century after this, as appears by their own writers.

That there were Christian soldiers in this more corrupt century of the Church, it is impossible to deny; for, besides what has been just advanced, such frequent mention is made of them in the histories which relate to this period, that we cannot refuse our assent to one or other of the propositions, either that there were men in the armies, *who called themselves Christians*, or that there were men in them *who had that name given them by others*. That they were Christians, however, that is, real Christians, is another question. They were probably such Christians as the Casuists of TERTULLIAN; or such as Dion mentioned to have been among the Life-Guards of Dioclesian and Maximilian, and of Constantius and Maximus, of whom Maximilian observed, "these men may know what it is expedient for them to do, but

I am a Christian, and therefore I cannot fight." Indeed, *that real Christians* could have been found in the army in this century is impossible. For the *military oath*, which *was full of idolatry*, and the *worshipping of the standards*, and the *performance of sacrifice*, still continued as services *not to be dispensed with by the soldiery*. No one, therefore, can believe, that *men in the full practice of Pagan idolatry*, as every legionary soldier must then have been, *were real Christians, merely because it is recorded in history* that men, calling themselves *Christians*, were found in the army in those times. On the other hand, if any soldiers professed Christianity *at this period*, or are related by authors to have professed it, and yet to have remained soldiers, it may be directly pronounced, that they could only have been *nominal or corrupted Christians*.

That Christianity was more degenerate in the fourth than in the third century, we have indubitable proof. Let us look at the evidence with which LACTANTIUS furnishes us in his book on "the Death of the Persecuted." He tells us, "that the sacrifices did not do well, *when any of the Christians attended them.*" What! Christians present at the Heathen sacrifices, and sitting at meat in the Idols' temple, contrary to the prohibition of St. Paul! But this is not all. He gives us in the same book another piece of information about the Christian conformists of this time, in the following words: "The Emperor," says he, "while he was in the East, made a sacrifice of oxen, and endeavoured to ascertain, by inspection of the entrails, what was about to happen. At this time some Christians, *who filled the inferior offices of the (Heathen) priesthood, while they were giving their assistance to the High Priest on this occasion*, marked their foreheads with the sign of the cross. The consequence was, that the Aruspices were frightened, and could not collect their usual marks." Here then we see not only that Christians were present at some of the Heathen sacrifices, but that they filled offices belonging to the lower order of the Pagan hierarchy. We may go, however, still farther, and we may assert upon authority undeniable, that it was *no uncommon thing*, in this age, *for Christians to accept of Heathen Priesthoods*; for the Council of Elvira, in the beginning of the fourth century, was forced to *make several*

Canons to forbid such scandalous usages, which Canons are now extant. But it is not necessary to detail these or other particulars. Almost every body knows that more evils sprang up to the Church in this century, than in any other, some of which remain at the present day. Indeed, the *corruption of Christianity was fixed as it were by law* in the age now mentioned. Constantine, on his conversion, introduced many of the Pagan ceremonies and superstitions, in which he had been brought up, into the Christian religion. The Christians, rejoicing to see an Emperor of their own religious persuasion, under whom they had hopes of restoration to equal privileges with others, and of freedom from persecution, submitted, in order to please or flatter him, to his idolatrous customs and opinions, thus sacrificing their consciences to their ease and safety. Many, on the other hand, who had always been heathens, professed themselves Christians at once, merely out of compliment to their Emperor, and without any real conversion of the heart. Thus there was a mixture of Christianity and Heathenism in the Church, which had never been known before. Constantine too did not dispense with the blasphemous titles of Pontifex Maximus,—Divinity, and Eternity, as they had been given to his predecessors. After his death he was considered also as a god. And, if Philostorgius is to be believed, the Christians, *for so he calls them*, prayed to and worshipped him as such.

Now in this century, when the corruption of the Church may be considered to have been fixed, we scarcely find any mention of Christian soldiers, or rather we find the distinction between them and others gradually passing away. The truth is, that when the Christians of this age had submitted to certain innovations upon their religion, they were in a fit state to go greater lengths; and this they did (no doubt out of compliment to their Brother-Emperor) *in the relaxation of their religious scruples, as they related to war*. It may be observed, however, that this relaxation was promoted also by other means. The existing government, in order to make the military service more palatable to them, dispensed with the old military oath, and allowed them to swear “by God, by Christ, and by the Holy Spirit, and by the Majesty of the Emperor, which, next to God, was to be

loved and honoured by mankind." This political manœuvre did away, in some measure, *a part of the objection to a military life, which arose from the idolatry connected with it.* The grand tenet on war began also to be frittered down by some of the leading clergy themselves, so as to lose its former meaning. It had been formerly held unlawful for Christians to fight at all. It was now insinuated as if it was allowable in a certain case; that is, if they fought under the banners of *Christian Emperors*, for bloodshed in war was more excusable when in the cause of virtue and religion. This new interpretation of the old tenet afforded a salvo or excuse to the consciences of many, and helped to take off *that other part of the objection to a military life, which consisted in the unlawfulness of fighting.* Hence the unlawfulness of fighting began to be given up. We find, however, that here and there an ancient Father still retained it as a religious tenet, but these dropping off one after another, it ceased at length to be a doctrine of the Church.

Having now examined the subject as far as we intended, we purpose to conclude it with a few, we hope, not impertinent remarks—

The proposition, with which we set out, we presume, has been sufficiently proved. It has been made to appear, that *while the lamp of Christianity burnt pure and bright, not only the Fathers of the Church held it unlawful for Christians to bear arms, but those, who came within the pale of it, abstained from the use of them, and this to the certain loss of their lives; and that it was not till Christianity became corrupted, that its followers became soldiers.* This is a most awful fact for those who profess the Christian religion, but who sanction war, at the present day. The consideration of it ought to make them tremble as to the ground of their opinions on this subject. It ought to make them fly to the Divine Writings, and inquire, with an anxiety proportioned to the magnitude of the case, what scope the latter afforded them for a construction of the precepts therein contained, so injurious both to the morals and to the happiness of mankind.

We invite them, then, most seriously to such an inquiry; and, first, we would recommend them to consider, whether they think they have more opportunities of light as to the understanding of

the Holy Scriptures, than their forefathers, the early Christians, had. They will bear in remembrance, that the *original* writings of the different Evangelists and Apostles, which go under that name, and copies taken *immediately* from these, were all in use in these times. They will bear in remembrance again, that some epistles, written by the immediate disciples of the former, were then in circulation, *which are now lost*. Nor will they, we hope, forget this important fact, that *there was but one link* between some of the Fathers, who protested against war in the second century, and the Apostles themselves; so that what the former heard, as doctrines on particular points, they heard from those *who conversed immediately with the latter*. Let us take the instance of IRENÆUS. The latter, when a young man, attended the preaching of that illustrious Martyr, POLYCARP: and where did POLYCARP learn his religious tenets but from JOHN, the beloved disciple of Jesus Christ? IRENÆUS, in his Epistle to FLORINUS, speaks of the circumstance himself. "I saw thee," says he, "FLORINUS, when I was yet a youth, with POLYCARPUS, in the lower Asia, living gorgeously in the Emperor's palace, and busying thyself with all thy might to get into favour and credit with him. For I remember better the things of old than the affairs of late; for the things we learn in our childhood sink deeper into our minds, and grow together with us: So that I remember the very place where POLYCARPUS sat when he taught; his going out and his coming in; his occupation of life; the figure and proportion of his person; the Sermon made unto the Multitude; *the Report he made of his conversation with JOHN and others, who had seen the Lord: how he remembered their sayings, and what he heard out of their mouths touching the Lord, of his power and doctrine, reciting precepts, and all things consonant to Holy Scripture, out of the mouths, I say, of those, who had seen with their own eyes the Word of Life in the flesh. These things at that time, through the mercy of God which wrought in me, I diligently marked and painted not on paper, but printed in my heart, which continually, through the grace of God, I ponder and meditate upon.*"

We would now recommend another matter to their serious inquiry. War, it must be allowed, is a *complication of moral evil*,

that is, of those acts, which have been marked as crimes both by the laws of God and man. It includes robbery. It includes bloodshed not unawares, which is the scriptural definition of murder. We leave out of the catalogue fraud, debauchery, hatred, resentment, and the exercise of all the bad passions of our nature. The point then, which we throw out for their inquiry is, whether theft can be otherwise than theft; and the shedding of blood premeditatedly be otherwise than murder, *on any occasion whatever?* Whether there are *two different standards of morality for men, the one allowed to be changed for the other as it is either a time of war, or a time of peace?* Whether it can be discovered any where in the Holy Scriptures, *that a dispensation has been given to any of the potentates, cabinets, or magistrates of the earth, to alter the nature of vice, or to dissolve, at their discretion, the responsibility of man to God for his own actions?* If there be a dispensation for these purposes, then, we presume, neither were the Scriptures intended for, nor are they binding upon, *all*; but a door is open to licentiousness, *and every species of evil, by those, of whom it is required to be the rulers, under God, for good*; and man's accountableness to God for his own actions done in the flesh is annihilated at pleasure, and he need no longer attempt to work out his own salvation, *as this can be undertaken for him by another*. But if, on the other hand, there be no dispensation to any person whatever for these purposes, then in what an awful situation do we stand, and what title have we to the name of Christians, while we are the favourers of war!

The last question, which we shall offer for their solution, is the following: Which of the two have laboured most for the honour and glory of God and the good of mankind; they, by whose interpretation of Scripture, war had been extirpated from the earth, had it been followed by others; or they, who, by a different interpretation, have contributed to continue it? Or, (which is another way of putting the question,) Which of the two better deserve the name of Christians; they who by their interpretation enlarge, or they who lessen, the number of the moral obligations of the Gospel? Surely it does not become us either to abridge the dignity of the new covenant, or to put bounds to its benevolence. If it was the desire of Jesus Christ that men should love their enemies, it is our duty

to believe, that his wish could not have been otherwise than universal. If it was an object with him to cure moral evil, it is our duty to suppose, that it was his desire to destroy it, not partially, but to the utmost possible extent. If it was his gracious design to give happiness to man, it is our duty to determine, that he intended to give it, not in a limited proportion, but in the largest possible measure. Do we not in our public churches, and in our private and family devotions, pour forth our prayers to God, "*that his kingdom, that is, the reign of virtue and happiness upon earth, may come?*" But how can his kingdom ever come, while wars are tolerated; or, in other words, while those crimes which are universally the concomitants of war, are not even viewed as crimes, but rather considered as meritorious, and even extolled as virtues? These are matters, which deserve the most serious consideration of those, who are desirous of being accounted Christians. To such alone we have addressed ourselves; and we now take our leave of them, under the pleasing hope, that they will re-examine the Holy Scriptures, and then endeavour to account, in a manner satisfactory to themselves (as we set out with recommending in this Essay) *why, on a subject of such vast importance as that of war, there should be such an essential difference between the primitive and the modern faith*; and, also, that they will take one other matter into their most serious consideration, viz. whether ARBITRATION be not *the only Christian way* of settling public differences; and whether such a way, if resorted to by Princes, would not be *as practicable, as agreeable, as efficient, and as happy in its issue*, as that, which has been hitherto adopted, of deciding them by the Sword.

FINIS.

Tract No. IV. of the Society for the Promotion of
Permanent and Universal Peace.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE
Desiderius
WRITINGS OF ERASMUS,
ON THE
SUBJECT OF WAR.

—One murder makes a villain ;
Millions, a hero, Bishop Porteus.

—O ! what are these,
Death's ministers, not men, who thus deal death.
Inhumanly to men, and multiply
Ten thousandfold the sin of him who slew
His brother : for of whom such massacre
Make they, but of their brethren ; men of men ?
Paradise Lost, Book XI. line 675.

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EXTRACTS

FROM

ERASMUS.

If there is in the affairs of mortal men any one thing which it is proper uniformly to explode; which it is incumbent on every man, by every lawful means, to avoid, to deprecate, to oppose; that one thing is, doubtless, WAR. There is nothing more unnaturally wicked, more productive of misery, more extensively destructive, more obstinate in mischief, more unworthy of man, as formed by nature, much more of man professing *Christianity*.

Yet, wonderful to relate! in these times war is every where rashly, and on the slightest pretext, undertaken; cruelly, and savagely conducted, not only by *Unbelievers*, but by *Christians*; not only by *Laymen*, but by *Priests* and *Bishops*; not only by the young and inexperienced, but even by men far advanced in life, who must have seen and felt its dreadful consequences; not only by the lower order, fickle in their nature, but above all by princes, whose duty it is to compose the rash passions of the unthinking multitude by superior wisdom, and the force of reason. Nor are there ever wanting men, learned in the law, and even divines, who are ready to furnish firebrands for the nefarious work, and to fan the latent sparks into a flame.

Hence it happens, that war is now considered so much a thing of course, that the wonder is, how any man can disapprove of it; so much sanctioned by authority and custom, that it is deemed impious (I had almost said heretical) to have borne testimony against a practice, in its principle most profligate, and in its

effects pregnant with every kind of calamity. If any one considers a moment the organization and external figure of the body, will he not instantly perceive that Nature, or rather the God of Nature, created the human animal not for *war*, but for *love* and *friendship*; not for mutual *destruction*, but for mutual *service* and *safety*; not to commit *injuries*, but for acts of *reciprocal beneficence*.

Man she brought into the world naked, weak, tender, unarmed, his flesh of the softest texture, his skin smooth and delicate, and susceptible of the slightest injury. There is nothing observable in his limbs adapted to fighting, or to violence. Unable either to speak or walk, or help himself to food, he can only implore relief by tears and wailing, so that from this circumstance alone might be collected, that man is an animal born for that love and friendship which is formed and cemented by the mutual interchange of benevolent offices. Moreover, Nature evidently intended that man should consider himself indebted for the boon of life, not so much to herself as to the kindness of his fellow-man; that he might perceive himself designed for social affections, and the attachments of friendship and love. Then she gave him a countenance not frightful and forbidding, but mild and placid, imitating by external signs the benignity of his disposition. She gave him eyes full of affectionate expression, the indexes of a mind delighting in social sympathy. She gave him arms to embrace his fellow-creatures. She gave him lips to express a union of heart and soul. She gave him alone the power of laughing, a mark of the joy of which he is susceptible. She gave him tears, the symbol of clemency and compassion. She gave him also a voice, not a menacing and frightful yell, but bland, soothing, and friendly. Not satisfied with these marks of her peculiar favour, she bestowed on him alone the use of speech and reason: a gift which tends more than any other to conciliate and cherish benevolence, and a desire of rendering mutual services; so that nothing among human creatures might be done by violence. She implanted in man a hatred of solitude, and a love of company. She sowed in his heart the seeds of every benevolent affection; and thus rendered what is most salutary, at the same time most agreeable. For what is more agreeable than a

friend ; what so necessary ? Indeed, if it were possible to conduct life conveniently, without mutual intercourse, yet nothing could be pleasant without a companion, unless man should have divested himself of humanity, and degenerated to the rank of a wild beast. Lastly, to man is given a spark of the divine mind, which stimulates him without any hope of reward, and of his own free will, to do good to all : for of God this is the most natural and appropriate attribute, to consult the good of all by disinterested beneficence. If it were not so, how happens it that we feel an exquisite delight, when we find that any man has been preserved from danger, injury, or destruction, by our offices or intervention ?

Now view, with the eyes of your imagination, savage troops of men, horrible in their very visages and voices ; men clad in steel, drawn up on every side in battle array, armed with weapons, frightful in their crash and their very glitter ; mark the horrid murmur of the confused multitude, their threatening eye-balls, the harsh jarring din of drums and clarions, the terrific sound of the trumpet, the thunder of the cannon, a noise not less formidable than the real thunder of heaven, and more hurtful, a mad shout like that of the shrieks of Bedlamites, a furious onset, a cruel butchering of each other !—See the slaughtered and the slaughtering !—heaps of dead bodies, fields flowing with blood, rivers reddened with human gore. It sometimes happens that a brother falls by the hand of a brother, a kinsman upon his nearest kindred, a friend upon his friend, who, while both are actuated by this fit of insanity, plunges the sword into the heart of one by whom he was never offended, not even by the word of his mouth ! So deep is the tragedy, that the bosom shudders even at the feeble description of it, and the hand of humanity drops the pencil while it paints the scene.

In the mean time, I pass over the corn fields trodden down, peaceful cottages and rural mansions burnt to the ground, villages and towns reduced to ashes, the cattle driven from their pasture, innocent women violated, old men dragged into captivity, churches defaced and demolished, every thing laid waste, a prey to robbery, plunder, and violence !

Not to mention the consequences which ensue to the people *after* a war, even the most fortunate in its event ; the poor, the

unoffending common people, robbed of their little hard-earned property; the great laden with taxes: old people bereaved of their children, more cruelly killed by the murder of their offspring, than by the sword; happier if the enemy had deprived them of the sense of their misfortune, and life itself, at the same moment; women far advanced in age, left destitute, and more cruelly put to death, than if they had died at once by the point of the bayonet: widowed mothers, orphan children, houses of mourning; and families, that once knew better days, reduced to extreme penury.

Why need I dwell on the evils which morals sustain by war, when every one knows, that *from war proceeds at once every kind of evil which disturbs and destroys the happiness of human life.*

As I just now drew the portrait of man and the picture of war, so now it is my intention to compare war with peace, to compare a state most poignant with misery, and most wicked in its origin, with a state profuse of blessings, and contributing in the highest degree to the happiness of human nature; it will then appear to be downright insanity to go in search of war with so much disturbance, so much labour, so great profusion of blood and treasure, and at such a hazard after all, when with little labour, less expense, no bloodshed, and no risk, peace might be preserved inviolate.

Now, amidst all the good this world affords, what is more delightful to the heart of man, what more beneficial to society, than love and amity? Nothing, surely. Yet what is peace, but love and amity subsisting between great numbers? And, on the other hand, what is war, but hatred and enmity subsisting between great numbers? But it is the nature of all good, that the more it is extended, the greater the good becomes, the more benign its influence; therefore, if the amicable union of individuals is so sweet and so salutary, how much will the sum total of happiness be augmented, if kingdom with kingdom, and nation with nation, coalesce in this amicable union? On the other hand, it is the nature of all evil, that its malignity increases the more it is extended; and therefore, if it be wretched, if it be wicked for one man to meet another with a sword pointed at his vitals, how much more wretched and more wicked, that *thousands and tens of*

thousands should meet in the same manner? By union, little things are augmented to a respectable magnitude; by disunion, the greatest fall to insignificance and dissolution. Peace is, indeed, at once the mother and the nurse of all that is good for man: War, on a sudden, and at one stroke, overwhelms, extinguishes, abolishes, whatever is cheerful, whatever is happy and beautiful, and pours a foul torrent of disasters on the life of mortals. Peace shines upon human affairs like the vernal sun. The fields are cultivated, the gardens bloom, the cattle are fed upon a thousand hills, new buildings arise, riches flow, pleasures smile, humanity and charity increase, arts and manufactures feel the genial warmth of encouragement, and the gains of the poor are more plentiful. But no sooner does the storm of war begin to lower, than what a deluge of miseries and misfortune seizes, inundates, and overwhelms all things within the sphere of its action! The flocks are scattered, the harvest trampled, the husbandman butchered, villas and villages burnt,—cities and states, that have been ages rising to their flourishing state, subverted by the fury of one tempest, the storm of war. So much easier is the task of *doing harm* than of *doing good*; of *destroying* than of *building up*!

Many, alas! are the evils by which miserable mortality is tormented, worn out, and at last overwhelmed. We read of whole cities buried in ruins by earthquakes, or burnt to ashes by lightning, whole countries swallowed up in chasms occasioned by subterraneous convulsions; not to mention how many men are lost by casualties, which, by the frequency of their occurrence, cease to surprise; how many are drowned in seas and rivers, how many destroyed by poison, by falling, by other accidents.

Why should those who are obnoxious to so many calamities, go voluntarily in quest of an adscititious evil, as if the measure of misery required to be full to the very brim, and to run over; in quest of an evil, *not a common evil*, but an *evil of all human evils the worst and the foulest*; so destructive an evil, that alone, it exceeds them all in mischief; so abundant in misery, that it comprehends every kind of wretchedness within itself; so pestilential in its nature, that it loads men with *guilt* in proportion as it galls them with *woe*.

To these considerations add, that the advantages derived from

peace diffuse themselves far and wide, and reach *great numbers* while in *war*, if any thing turns out happily, (though what can ever deserve the appellation of *happy* in war!) the advantage redounds only to a *few*, and those unworthy of reaping it. (One man's safety is owing to the destruction of another. One man's prize derived from the plunder of another. The cause of rejoicings made by one side, is to the other a cause of mourning. Whatever is unfortunate in war, is severely so indeed, and whatever, on the contrary, is called *good fortune*, is a *savage and a cruel good fortune*, an ungenerous happiness, deriving its existence from another's woe. Indeed, at the conclusion, it commonly happens, that both sides, the victorious and the vanquished, have cause to deplore. I know not whether any war ever succeeded so fortunately in all its events, but that the conqueror, if he had a heart to feel, or an understanding to judge, as he ought to do, repented that he ever engaged in it at all.

Such and so great are the evils which are submitted to, in order to accomplish an end, itself a greater evil than all that have preceded in preparation for it. We thus afflict ourselves for the noble end of enabling ourselves to afflict others. If we were to calculate the matter fairly, and form a just computation of the cost attending war, and that of procuring peace, we should find that peace might be purchased at a tenth part of the cares, labours, troubles, dangers, expenses, and blood, which it costs to carry on a war. You lead a vast multitude of men into danger of losing their lives, in order to demolish some great city; while the same labour and fatigue of these very men would build, without any danger, a more magnificent city, than the city doomed to demolition. But the object is to do all possible injury to an enemy. A most inhuman object, let me tell you! and consider, whether you can hurt him, essentially, without hurting, at the same time, and by the same means, your own people. It surely is to act like a madman to take to yourself so large a portion of certain evil, when it must ever be uncertain how the die of War may fall in the ultimate issue.

Where are there so many and so sacred obligations to perfect concord, as in the Christian religion? Where so numerous exhortations to peace? One law Jesus Christ claimed as his own

Yes but
what does
peace
get you
Sometimes
war is the
only alternative

peculiar law, and it was *the law of love or charity*. What practice among mankind violates this law so grossly as war? Christ salutes his votaries with the happy omen of *peace*. To his disciples he gives nothing but *peace*: he leaves them no other legacy but *peace*. In his holy prayers, the subject of his devout entreaty was principally, that, as He was one with the Father, so his disciples, (that is to say, all Christians,) might be one with him. This union is something more than peace, more than friendship, more than concord; it is an intimate communion with the Divine nature.

Solomon was a type of Christ. But the word Solomon, in Hebrew, signifies the *pacific*. Solomon, on this account, because he was pacific, was chosen to build the temple. David was rejected as a builder of the temple, because he was a warrior. He was rejected for this, though the wars he carried on were against the wicked and at the command of God; and though he, who afterwards abrogated, in great measure, the laws of Moses, had not yet taught mankind that they ought to love their enemies.

At the nativity of Jesus Christ, the angels sung not the glories of war, nor a song of triumph, but a hymn of peace: "Glory to God in the highest, on earth PEACE; good will towards men." The mystic poet and prophet foretold before his birth, (Ps. lxxvi. 2.)

"In the CITY OF PEACE (Salem) he made his dwelling-place: there brake he the arrows of the bow, the shield, the sword, and the battle-axe."

"He shall refrain the spirit of Princes; he is terrible to the Kings of the earth."

Examine every part of his doctrine, you will find nothing that does not breathe peace, speak the language of love, and savour of charity; and as he knew that peace could not be preserved unless those objects, for which the world contends with the sword's point, were considered as vile and contemptible, he ordered us to learn of him to be meek and lowly. He pronounced those happy who held riches, and the daughters of riches, Pomp and Pride, in no esteem; for these he calls the poor in spirit, and these he has blessed. He prohibited resistance of evil. In short, as the whole of his doctrine recommended forbearance and love, so his life taught nothing but mildness, gentleness, and kind affection. Such was his reign; thus did he wage war, thus he conquered.

and thus he triumphed. Nor do the apostles inculcate any other doctrine; they who had imbibed the purest spirit of Christ, and were filled with sacred draughts from the fountain head. What do all the epistles of St. Paul resound with but **PEACE**, but long-suffering, but charity? What does St. John speak of, and repeat continually, but Christian love? What else St. Peter: What else all the writers in the world, who are truly Christian?

Whence, then, the tumults of war among the Children of Peace? Is it a mere fable when Christ calls himself the vine, and his disciples the branches? Who can conceive a branch divided against a branch of the same tree? Or, is it an unmeaning assertion, which St. Paul has repeatedly made, that the Church is one body, united in its many members, and adhering to one head, Jesus Christ? Whoever beheld the eye contending with the hand, or the belly fighting against the foot? In the whole universe, consisting of parts so discordant, there still continues a general harmony. In the animal body, there is peace among all the members, and with whatever excellence one member is endowed, it confines not the benefit to itself, but communicates it to all. If any evil happen to one member, the whole body affords it assistance. Can then the mere animal connexion of nature, in a material body, formed soon to perish, effect more in preserving harmony than the union of a spirit in a mystical and immortal body? Is it without meaning that we pray, according to the command of Christ, Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven? In the Kingdom of Heaven there is perfect concord. But Christ intended that his Church should be nothing less than a Celestial Community; a Heaven upon Earth; men who belong to it living, as much as possible, according to the model of the heavenly kingdom, hastening thither, and feeling and acknowledging their whole dependance upon it for present and future felicity.

It may now be worth while to observe in what manner Christians defend the madness of War.

If, say they, war had been absolutely unlawful, God would not have excited the Jews to wage war against their enemies. I hear the argument, and observe upon it, that the objector should in justice add, that the Jews scarcely ever waged war, as the Chris-

tians do, against each other, but against aliens and infidels. We Christians draw the sword against Christians. To them a difference of religion, and the worship of strange gods, was the source of contest. We are urged to war, either by childish anger, or a hunger and thirst for riches and glory, and oftentimes merely for base and filthy lucre. They fought at the express command of God; we, at the command of our own passions.

But since the time that Jesus Christ said, Put up thy sword into its scabbard, Christians ought not to go to war, unless it be in that most honourable warfare, with the vilest enemies of the Church, the inordinate love of money, anger, and ambition. These are our *Philistines*, these our *Nabuchodonosors*, these our *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, with whom we ought never to make a truce; with these we must engage without intermission till the enemy being utterly extirpated, peace may be firmly established. Unless we subdue such enemies as these, we can neither have peace with ourselves, nor peace with any one else. *This is the only war which tends to produce a real and a lasting peace.* He, who shall have conquered foes like these, will never wish to wage war with any mortal man upon the face of that earth on which God placed all men to live, to let live, and to enjoy the life he gave.

I lay no stress on the opinion of those who interpret the two swords given to Peter to mean two powers, the civil and ecclesiastical, claimed by the successors of Peter, since Christ suffered Peter himself to fall into an error in this matter, on purpose that, when he had put up his sword, it might remain no longer a doubt that war was prohibited; which, before that order, had been considered as allowable. But Peter, they allege, did actually use his sword. It is true he did; but while he was still a Jew, and had not yet received the genuine spirit of Christianity. He used his sword, not in support of any disputable claim to property, not to defend goods, chattels, lands, and estates, as we do; nor yet for his own life, but for the life of his Lord and Master. *Let it also be remembered, that he who used the sword in defence of his Master, very soon after denied and renounced that Master.* If Peter is to be our model, and if we are so much pleased with the example of Peter fighting for Christ, we may probably approve also the example of Peter denying Christ.

Peter, in using his sword, only made a slip in consequence of the impulse of a sudden passion : yet he was reprimanded. But if Christ approved of this mode of defence, as some most absurdly infer from this transaction, how happens it that the uniform tenour of his whole life and doctrine teaches nothing else but forbearance ? Why, when he commissioned his disciples, did he expose them to the despots of the world, armed only with a walking-stick and a wallet, a staff and a scrip ? If by that sword, which Christ ordered them, after selling every thing else, to buy, is meant a moderate defence against persecution, as some men ignorantly interpret it, how came it to pass that the Martyrs never used it ?

But they urge, that the laws of nature, the laws of society, and the laws of custom and usage, conspire in dictating the propriety of repelling force by force, and defending life, and money too, which is to some persons as dear as life. So much I allow. But Gospel Grace, of more force than all these laws, declares in decisive words, that those who revile us, we must not revile again : that we must do good to them who use us ill ; and that we should also pray for them who design to take away our lives. All this, they tell us, had a particular reference to the apostles ; but I contend that it also refers to all Christian people, to the whole body which should be entire and perfect, though one member may have been formerly distinguished by some particular pre-eminence. The doctrine of Christ, can, indeed, have no reference to them, who do not expect their reward with Christ.

But they proceed to argue, that as it is lawful to inflict punishment on an individual delinquent, it must also be lawful to take vengeance on an offending State. The full answer to be given to this argument would involve me in greater prolixity than is now requisite. I will only say that the two cases differ widely in this respect. He who is convicted *judicially*, suffers the punishment which the *laws* impose : but in *war*, each side treats the other side as *guilty*, and proceeds to inflict punishment, regardless of law, judge, or jury. In the former case, the evil only falls on him who committed the wrong ; the benefit of the example redounds to all : in the latter case, the greatest part of the very numerous evils falls on those who deserve no evil at all ; on husbandmen, on old people, on mothers of families, on

orphans, and on defenceless young females. But if any good at all can be gathered from a thing which is itself the worst of all things, the whole of that good devolves to the share of a few most profligate robbers, to the mercenary pillager, to the piratical privateer. It would be better to let the crime of a few go unpunished, than, while we endeavour to chastise one or two by war, in which, perhaps we may not succeed, to involve our own people, the neighbouring people, and the innocent part of the enemies, (for so I may call the multitude,) in certain calamity. It is better to let a wound alone which cannot be healed without injury to the whole body. But if any one should exclaim, "that it would be unjust that he who has offended should not suffer condign punishment;" I answer, that it is much more unjust that so many thousand innocent persons should be called to share the utmost extremity of misfortune, which they could not possibly have deserved.

But the objector repeats, "Why may I not go and cut the throats of those who would cut our throats if they could?" Do you then consider it as a disgrace that any should be more wicked than yourself? Why do you not go and rob thieves? they would rob you if they could. Why do you not revile them that revile you? Why do you not hate them that hate you?

Do you consider it as a noble exploit for a Christian, having killed in war those whom he thinks wicked, but who still are men, for whom Christ died, thus to offer up victims most acceptable to the Devil, and to delight that grand enemy in two instances; first, that a man is slain at all; and secondly, that the man who slew him is a Christian?

If we are willing to conquer for Christ, let us buckle on the sword of the Gospel; let us put on the helmet of salvation, grasp the shield of faith, and be completely clad in apostolical armour, the panoply of heaven. Then will it come to pass, that we shall triumph even in defeat, and when routed in the field, still bear away the palm of a most glorious victory. If we endeavour to be what we are called, that is, to be violently attached to nothing worldly, to seek nothing here with too anxious a solicitude; if we endeavour to free ourselves from all that may encumber and impede our flight to heaven; if we aspire with our most ardent

wishes at celestial felicity ; if we place our chief happiness in Christ alone ;—we have certainly, in so doing, made up our minds to believe, that whatever is truly good, truly great, truly delightful, is to be found in his religion. If we are convinced that a good man cannot be essentially hurt by any mortal ; if we have duly estimated the vanity and transitory duration of all the ridiculous things which agitate human beings ; if we have any adequate idea of being so cleansed, by continual meditation, from the pollutions of this world, that when the body is laid down in the dust one may emigrate to the society of angels : in a word, if we exhibit these three qualities, without which no man can deserve the appellation of a Christian : *Innocence*, that we may be free from vice ; *Charity*, that we may deserve well of all men ; *Patience*, that we may bear with those that use us ill, and, if possible, bury injuries by an accumulation of benefits on the injured party ; I ask, what war can possibly arise hereafter for any trifles which the world contains ?

If the Christian religion be a fable, why do we not honestly and openly explode it ? Why do we glory and take a pride in its name ? But if Christ is “ the way, and the truth, and the life,” why do all our schemes of life and plans of conduct deviate so from this great Exemplar ? If we acknowledge Christ to be our Lord and Master, who is love itself, and who taught nothing but love and peace, let us exhibit his model ; not by assuming his name, but by our lives and conversation. Let us adopt the love of peace, that Christ may recognize his own, even as we recognise him to be the Teacher of Peace.

*Extract from a Letter addressed by Erasmus to Francis
the First, King of France, anno 1523.*

WHAT can be frailer, more transitory, more exposed to misery,
than human life? I dwell not on the great variety of diseases,
disasters, accidents, fatal calamities, pestilential sicknesses, light-
ning, earthquakes, conflagrations, inundations, and other evils
which overwhelm it without limit and without number. Yet,
among all the miseries by which man is infested, there is not one
more malignant, more mischievous than War; not one that, like
War, does more harm to the *morals* of men, than even to their
property and *persons*. It is, indeed, a less injury to deprive me of
my life than of my innocence. Nor is war at all the less detest-
able, because the greatest portion of its evils falls on the poor and
low; on the farmer, on the manufacturer, or the wayfaring man.
Our Lord Jesus Christ shed his blood for the redemption of these
men, despised as they are, no less than for the redemption of
Kings. And when we shall stand before the judgment-seat of
Christ, where the most powerful Lords of this world must shortly
stand, that impartial Judge will require a no less strict account to
be given of those poor and despised ones, than of Despots and
Grandeens. Therefore they who deem it a trifling loss and injury
when the poor and the low are robbed, afflicted, banished, burnt
out, oppressed or put to death, do in truth accuse Jesus Christ
(the wisdom of the Father) of folly, for shedding his blood to save
such wretches as these.

Christ, throughout his whole life, displayed the character of a
Saviour, a Comforter, a universal Benefactor. Whether in the
temple or the synagogue, whether in public or in private, whether
in a ship or in the wilderness, he taught the multitude, he healed
the sick, he cleansed the lepers, he restored the paralytic, the
lame, the blind; he expelled evil spirits, he raised the dead, he
delivered those that were in jeopardy; he fed the hungry; he re-
futed the Pharisees; he took the part of the disciples, of the poor
sinful creature who so lavishly poured out her ointment; he even
comforted the guilty and unhappy woman of Canaan, who was
detected in the commission of her crime. Review the whole life

of Jesus; he never did evil to any mortal, though he was himself used so ill, and if he had chosen it, might have revenged himself so amply. He was uniformly the Saviour and the Benefactor. To Malchus he restored the ear which Peter had cut off. He would not suffer his own personal safety to be secured, even, by so trifling an injury as that which was done to Malchus. Suspended on the cross, he saved one of the thieves that were crucified with him. After his death he brought over the Centurion to the Christian faith. This was supporting the character of a King, truly so called — To do good to all, and injury to none.

*Fract No. 1. of the Society for the Promotion of
Permanent and Universal Peace.*

SKETCHES
OF THE
HORRORS OF WAR,

CHIEFLY SELECTED FROM

Eugène LABAUME'S NARRATIVE

OF THE

CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA,

IN 1812.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH, WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS.

BY EVAN REES.

"Whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your
lusts which war in your members?" *James iv. 1.*

"A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit; neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good
fruit."

"Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them." *Matthew vii. 18—20.*

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SKETCHES

OF THE

HORRORS OF WAR.

DURING an eventful period of twenty-five years of nearly un-remitting warfare, every nation of the civilized world has been involved in the contest, and each has, in turn, shared in its miseries, or groaned beneath its burdens. On some of those countries which have been the theatre of combat, the storm has burst with the fury of a volcanic eruption; whole provinces, systematically devoted to destruction, have exhibited a scene of extended havock, that has left few vestiges of civilization; in a few fleeting moments, flourishing cities have been reduced into a heap of smoking ruins; and the fields of Europe have been stained with the blood of millions.

These are the genuine effects of war; and if it be true, that "the tree is known by its fruit," we shall not be at a loss to determine the origin of this unchristian practice.

The character and achievements of the warrior, have ever been the favourite themes of the historian's narrative, and the poet's song. The sufferings of the wounded are lost in the animated description of the pomp of battle; the tears of the widow and the orphan are unnoticed in the enumeration of its ideal glories. All the powers of language, and every embellishment of style, have been lavished to immortalize the soldier's fame—to veil the hideous deformity of war—to give perpetuity to deeds of destruction—and to transform the destroyer of man into the most exalted of the human race. War is represented as the field on which the noblest energies of man are displayed; but to form a just conception of its nature we must view it in its characteristic abominations, not through the delusive medium by which it is invested with an alluring and baneful splendour. The sensation created by the atrocities of *one* midnight assassin,* is fresh in

* The murders at Ratcliffe, in the year 1811.

every recollection; consternation reigned in the metropolis, and pervaded the whole kingdom; but when the intelligence was received of the untimely death of thousands, far different was the feeling; brilliant illuminations dispelled the darkness of night, and our streets resounded with the acclamations of unhallowed triumph. The injury sustained by the vanquished, will be found to regulate the demonstrations of public joy. If they have lost their thousands, it will call forth general congratulation; if tens of thousands have perished in the fight, it will kindle a transport of delirious exultation. But to rejoice in the calamities of our fellow men, must surely be inhuman, and ungenerous; it must tend to vitiate the understanding, and to render the heart callous to the finest feelings of humanity.

In attempting to pourtray war in its true colours, we are aware that no description can convey an adequate impression of its horrors; and that no imagination can conceive the full extent of its attendant evils. The Narrative of Labaume, from which the following extracts are principally selected, is acknowledged to be the best, and most authentic account of the Russian Campaign.* The author was attached to the staff of the fourth corps of the French army, commanded by Prince Eugene Beauharnois, and was an eye-witness of the miseries which he has related with so much feeling. In his preface, he says, "It was by the light of the burning of Moscow that I described the pillage of that city; it was on the banks of the Berezina that I traced the narrative of that fatal passage. It is scarcely possible to conceive the difficulties that I had to surmount, in order to make my memorandums. Compelled, like my companions in arms, to struggle with the most imperious necessity; benumbed with cold, and tormented with hunger, I was a prey to every kind of suffering. Uncertain, at the rising of the sun, whether I should see his setting rays, and in the evening, doubtful of witnessing another day, every thought seemed absorbed by the desire of living, to preserve the remembrance of what I had seen. Animated by this

* The extracts are translated from the "*Relation Circonstanciée de la Campagne en Russie, en 1812. Par Eugène Labaume, Chef d'Escadron, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur &c. 4me Edition Paris, Février 1815.*"

inexpressible feeling, I wrote the events of the day every evening, before a bad fire, under a temperature from 20 to 22 degrees below the freezing point, and surrounded by the dying and the dead. I made my pens from the quills of the raven, with the same knife that I used in cutting up the horse-flesh for my food; a little gunpowder, mixed up in the hollow of my hand with melted snow, supplied the place of ink and inkstand."

The Spring of 1812 was employed by the French and Russians in the increase of their military strength, and whilst Napoleon assembled his legions on the frontiers of Poland, Russia collected all her resources, to await the impending conflict. The French army was composed of SIX HUNDRED AND EIGHTY THOUSAND MEN, AND ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX THOUSAND HORSES. If we deduct the Austrian corps, with the troops in garrison and reserve, its effective strength may have amounted to 400,000 infantry, 60,000 cavalry, and 1200 pieces of artillery.* On the return of the French Ambassador from St. Petersburg, Napoleon issued a proclamation from Wilkowsky, dated June 22, 1812, in which he announced the commencement of the second Polish war, and immediately took the field at the head of his army. The passage of the Niemen was effected on the 24th, and on the 25th they reached Wilna. In their retreat, the Russians carried off the inhabitants with their cattle, destroyed the corn and forage, laid waste the country, and burnt the towns and villages, in order to deprive their invaders of every means of subsistence and shelter.

Aug. 19. SMOLENSK.—After an obstinate battle, the Russians set fire to the city, and retreated, leaving the streets and squares covered with their dead and wounded. Labaume thus describes his entrance on the following day: "We entered Smolensk by the suburb on the bank of the river, marching in every direction over ruins and dead bodies. The palaces still burning presented to our view only walls cleft by the heat: amidst their smoking ashes lay the blackened carcasses of the inhabitants who had perished in the flames. The soldiers had taken possession

* By a statement in the Quarterly Review, on the authority of a Westphalian officer, it would appear that the effective force was 494,000

of the few remaining houses, whilst the proprietor, bereft of an asylum, stood at his door, weeping the death of his children, and the loss of his fortune. The churches alone afforded some consolation to the wretched beings who had no longer a shelter. The cathedral, celebrated throughout Europe, and highly venerated by the Russians, became the refuge of those who had escaped the conflagration. In this church, and round its altars, lay whole families stretched upon rags. Here, we saw an old man, expiring, cast his last look towards the image of the Saint whom he had all his life invoked; there, a mother, weighed down by adversity, as she gave the breast to an infant, bathed it in her tears.

"In the midst of this desolation, the passage of the army into the interior of the city offered a striking contrast: on one side was seen the abject submission of the conquered; on the other the pride attendant on victory. Those had lost their all; the victors, rich in spoils, and strangers to defeat, marched haughtily to the sound of martial music, at once impressing with fear and admiration the unhappy residue of a vanquished population." P. 100.

Sept. 5th. BORODINO.—A redoubt on the left of the Russian position was taken by storm. "This important position was purchased with the blood of one thousand of our men, more than one half of whom were left dead in the entrenchments they had so gloriously carried. The next day the Emperor, passing in review the 61st regiment, which had suffered the most, asked the colonel, what he had done with one of his battalions? 'Sire,' replied he, '*it is in the redoubt.*'" P. 131.

"This affair was the prelude to a more dreadful combat. Sept. 7th. Before day-break the two armies were drawn up in order of battle. *Two hundred and sixty thousand men* waited, in awful suspense, the signal to engage. At six o'clock, the thunder of the artillery broke the dreadful silence. The battle soon became general, and raged with tremendous fury. The fire of 200 pieces of cannon enveloped the two armies in smoke, and mowing down whole battalions, strewed the field with the dead and wounded. The latter fell to expose themselves to a death still more terrible, and to accumulated sufferings. How agonizing was

their situation! Forty thousand dragoons, crossing the field in every direction, trampled them under the feet, and dyed their horses' hoofs in blood. The flying artillery, in rapid and alternate advance and retreat, put a period to the anguish of some, and inflicted new torments on others, who were mangled by their wheels." A redoubt in the centre of the Russian army was several times taken and retaken with desperate slaughter, and finally remained in possession of the French. "The interior of the redoubt presented a frightful scene; the dead were heaped on each other, and amongst them were many wounded, whose cries could not be heard. Arms of all descriptions were strewed over the ground; the battlements of the half destroyed parapets were razed, and the situation of the embrasures was only discovered by the cannon, the greater part of which were overturned and detached from their broken carriages." P. 146.

The night separated the combatants and put a stop to the destructive carnage. On this disastrous day, ever memorable in the annals of slaughter, EIGHTY THOUSAND MEN were sacrificed at the shrine of mad ambition!*

Sept. 8th.—"In traversing the elevated plain on which we had fought, we were enabled to form an estimate of the immense loss that had been sustained by the Russians. A surface of about nine square miles in extent, was covered with the killed and wounded; with the wreck of arms, lances, helmets, and cuirasses, and with balls as numerous as hail-stones after a violent storm. In many places the bursting of shells had overturned men and horses; and such was the havock occasioned by repeated discharges, that mountains of dead bodies were raised. But the most dreadful spectacle was the interior of the ravines, where the wounded had instinctively crawled to avoid the shot; here these unfortunate wretches, lying one upon another, destitute of assistance, and weltering in their blood, uttered the most horrid groans. Loudly invoking death, they besought us to put an end to their excruciating torments. As our medical means of relief

* The horses which lay on the ground from right to left, numbered full 25,000.—*Narrative of the Campaign in Russia by Sir R. K. Porter. Second Edition* (London, 1814,) p. 151.

were insufficient, our fruitless compassion could only lament the calamities inseparable from a war so atrocious." P. 153.

Sept. 9th.—"As we drew near Rouza we met a great number of carts brought back by the cavalry. It was afflicting to see them loaded with children, and with the aged and infirm. We were grieved to think how soon the horses and carts, which formed the whole fortune of these ruined families, would be divided amongst the troops."

"In our advance to the centre of the town, we saw a crowd of soldiers who were pillaging the houses, regardless of the cries of those to whom they belonged, or of the tears of mothers, who, to soften the hearts of their conquerors, showed them their children on their knees; these innocents, with their hands clasped, and bathed in tears, asked only that their lives might be spared. This rage for plunder was justifiable in some, who, dying with hunger, were only seeking to procure themselves food; but many others, under this pretext, plundered every thing, and even robbed the women and children of the clothes that covered them." P. 159.

"We could judge of the consternation that reigned in the capital, by the terror with which we had inspired the peasantry. No sooner were they informed of our arrival at Rouza, and of the barbarous manner in which we had treated the inhabitants, than all the villages on the road to Moscow were instantly abandoned; many of the fugitives, driven to desperation, set fire to their houses, their country seats, and to the corn and hay just gathered in. Discouraged by the fatal and useless resistance of the militia of Rouza, the greater part of them threw down the pikes with which they had been armed, and hastened to conceal themselves, with their wives and children, in thick forests at a distance from our route." P. 164.

Sept. 15, Moscow.—"At day-break, our corps left the village, where it had encamped, and marched upon Moscow. As we drew near the city, we observed that it had no walls, and that a simple parapet of earth was the only work which formed the outer enclosure. We had hitherto seen nothing to indicate that the capital was inhabited, and the road by which we arrived was so

deserted, that we did not see a single Muscovite, nor even a French soldier. No noise, no cry, was heard amidst this imposing solitude; anxiety alone guided our footsteps, which was redoubled when we perceived a column of thick smoke rising from the centre of the city. At first, we imagined that it only proceeded from some magazines, to which the Russians, as usual, had set fire in their retreat. Eager to know the cause of this conflagration, we sought in vain for some one who could tranquillize our restless curiosity; but the impossibility of satisfying it, redoubled our impatience, and increased our alarm." P. 194.

"Moscow was so extensive and depopulated, that notwithstanding the city had been in the possession of our troops since the preceding evening, we found neither soldiers nor inhabitants in the part which we were to occupy. A death-like silence reigned in the forsaken quarters: the most intrepid were intimidated by the loneliness. The streets were so long, that our cavalry could not recognize each other at the opposite extremities. Uncertain whether they were friends or enemies, they advanced slowly, then, seized with fear, fled from each other, though under the same standards. As we took possession of a new quarter, parties were sent forward to reconnoitre, and to examine the palaces and churches; in the latter the altars were decorated as on a day of festival; in the former, they only found old men and children, or Russian officers who had been wounded in the preceding engagements." "We marched with timid steps through this dismal solitude, often stopping to look behind us; for our imaginations, overpowered by the magnitude of our conquest, made us every where apprehensive of treachery. Sometimes we listened attentively, and at the least noise, fancied that we heard the din of arms, or the shouts of combatants." P. 196.

In conformity with the desolating plan of the campaign, the ruin of the ancient capital of the Czars had been determined. The criminals confined in the different prisons received their liberty on condition of setting fire to the city, as soon as it should be in the possession of the French army. In order to insure its destruction, the engines, and every means by which the fire might have been extinguished, were removed or destroyed. The Exchange was the first building that fell a prey to the flames. The

stores contained an immense quantity of the most valuable commodities of Europe and Asia; the cellars were filled with sugar, oils, and resin, which burnt with great fury. The French endeavoured to check the progress of the devouring element, but they soon discovered that their efforts were useless. The fire breaking out in different quarters of the city, and increased by a high wind, spread with dreadful rapidity. "So great a calamity impressed even the most hardened minds with the presentiment, that the wrath of Divine justice would one day fall on the first authors of this frightful devastation." P. 200.

"A great part of the population had concealed themselves in their houses, from the terror caused by our arrival; but they left them as the flames reached their asylums. Fear had rendered their grief dumb, and as they tremblingly quitted their retreats, they carried off their most valuable effects, whilst those who were possessed of more sensibility, actuated by natural feelings, sought only to save the lives of their parents, or their children. On one side we saw a son carrying a sick father; on the other, women who poured the torrent of their tears on the infants whom they clasped in their arms. They were followed by the rest of their children, who, fearful of being lost, ran crying after their mothers. Old men, overwhelmed more by grief than by the weight of years, were seldom able to follow their families; many of them, weeping for the ruin of the country, laid down to die, near the houses where they were born. The streets, the public squares, and especially the churches, were crowded with these unhappy persons, who mourned as they lay on the remains of their property, but shewed no signs of despair. The victors and the vanquished were become equally brutish; the former by excess of fortune, the latter by excess of misery." P. 209.

"The hospitals, containing more than TWELVE THOUSAND WOUNDED, began to burn. The heart, frozen with horror, recoils at the fatal disaster which ensued. Almost all these wretched victims perished. The few who were still living, were seen crawling, half burnt, under the smoking ashes, or groaning under the heaps of dead bodies, making ineffectual efforts to extricate themselves!"

"It is impossible to depict the confusion and tumult that ensued, when the whole of this immense city was given up to pillage. Soldiers, sutlers, galley-slaves, and prostitutes, ran through the streets, penetrated the deserted palaces, and carried off every thing that could gratify their insatiable desire." P. 211.

"The generals received orders to quit Moscow. The soldiers being no longer restrained by that awe which is always inspired by the presence of their chiefs, gave themselves up to every excess, and to the most unbridled licentiousness. No retreat was safe, no place was sufficiently sacred, to secure it from their rapacious search. To all the excesses of lust, were added the highest depravity and debauchery. No respect was paid to the nobility of blood, the innocence of youth, or to the tears of beauty. This cruel licentiousness was the consequence of a savage war, in which sixteen united nations, differing in language and manners, thought themselves at liberty to commit every crime, in the persuasion that their disorders would be attributed to one nation alone." P. 213.

"Dismayed by so many calamities, I hoped that the shades of night would veil the dreadful scene; but darkness, on the contrary, rendered the conflagration more terrible. The flames, which extended from north to south, burst forth with greater violence, and agitated by the wind, seemed to reach the sky. Clouds of smoke marked the track of the rockets that were hurled by the incendiary criminals from the tops of the steeples, and which, at a distance, resembled falling stars. But nothing was so terrific as the dread that reigned in every mind, and which was heightened in the dead of the night by the shrieks of the unfortunate creatures who were massacred, or by the cries of young females, who fled for refuge to the palpitating bosoms of their mothers, and whose ineffectual struggles only served to inflame the passions of their violators. To these heart-piercing groans were added the howlings of the dogs that were chained to the gates of the palaces, according to the custom at Moscow, and were unable to escape the flames that surrounded them." P. 214.

"Many of our soldiers fell victims to their own rapacity, which induced them, heedless of the extreme risk, to brave every danger: excited by the love of plunder, they rushed into the midst of the

fire and smoke ; they waded in blood, trampling on the dead bodies, whilst the ruins and pieces of burning wood fell upon their murderous hands. Perhaps all would have perished had not the insupportable heat at length compelled them to take refuge in their camp." * P. 218.

Sept. 17.—The 4th corps were ordered to take up their quarters at the castle of Peterskoe. On their march they overtook crowds of the inhabitants carrying off their infirm parents, with all they had rescued from their burning houses. Their horses having been taken from them by the troops, "men, and even women, were harnessed to the carts," which contained the wrecks of their property, and the dearest objects of their affection. "These interesting groups were accompanied by children, who were nearly naked, and whose countenances were imprinted with a sorrow uncongenial to their age. If the soldiers approached them, they ran crying to throw themselves into their mothers' arms. What abode could be offered them that would not continually recall the object of their terror? Without assistance or shelter, they wandered in the fields, or took refuge in the woods, but wherever they turned they met the conquerors of Moscow, who often ill-treated them, and sold before their eyes the goods which they had stolen from their houses." P. 219.

Oct. 18.—On the evening of this day the order for the retreat was given, in consequence of the surprise of a part of the French army at Taroutina with severe loss ; and on the 22d, Moscow was completely evacuated. On the 24th, the Russians attacked the 4th corps, which was posted at Malo Jaroslavetz. The battle began at four o'clock in the morning, and lasted till nine at night.

Oct. 25.—"The town in which we had fought was no longer standing, and we could only discover the line of the streets by the numerous dead bodies with which they were strewed. On all

* "The French troops, as they poured into the devoted city, had spread themselves in every direction in search of plunder, and in their progress they committed outrages so horrid on the persons of all whom they discovered, that fathers, desperate to save their children from pollution, would set fire to their places of refuge, and find a surer asylum in the flames. The streets, the houses, the cellars flowed with blood, and were filled with violation and carnage."—*Porter's Narrative*, p. 170.

sides we saw human heads and scattered limbs crushed by the artillery that had been manœuvred over them. Many of the sick and wounded had quitted the fight to take refuge in the houses, which were now reduced to heaps of ruins, and under the burning ashes appeared their half consumed remains. The few who had escaped the flames, having their faces blackened, and their clothes and hair burnt, presented themselves before us, and in an expiring tone uttered cries of the deepest anguish. On seeing them, the most ferocious were moved with compassion, and turning away their eyes, could not refrain from tears." P. 262.

Oct. 30.—"As we advanced, the country appeared yet more desolate; the fields, trampled by thousands of horses, seemed as though they had never been cultivated; the forests, thinned by the long residence of the troops, partook of the devastation. But the most horrible sight was the multitude of dead bodies, which had been fifty-two days unburied, and scarcely retained the human form. My consternation was at its height on finding, near Borodino, the 20,000 men who had been slaughtered there, lying where they fell. The half-buried carcasses of men and horses covered the plain, intermingled with garments stained with blood, and bones gnawed by the dogs and birds of prey, and with the fragments of arms, drums, helmets, and cuirasses." P. 276.

"As we were marching over the field of battle, we heard at a distance a pitiable object, who demanded our assistance. Touched by his plaintive cries, many of the soldiers drew near the spot, when, to their great astonishment, they observed a French soldier stretched on the ground, with both his legs broken: 'I was wounded,' said he, 'on the day of the great battle, and finding myself in a lonely place, where I could gain no assistance, I dragged myself to the brink of a rivulet, and have lived near two months on grass and roots, and on some pieces of bread which I found amongst the dead bodies. At night I have lain in the carcasses of dead horses, and with the flesh of these animals have dressed my wounds, as well as with the best medicines. Having observed you at a distance, I collected all my strength, and have advanced sufficiently near to make myself heard.' Whilst we expressed our surprise at the event, a General, who was made

acquainted with a case, as singular as it was affecting, ordered him to be placed in his own carriage." P. 277.

"Were I to relate all the calamities that sprung from this atrocious war, my narration would be too long; but if I wished from one instance to convey an idea of the rest, it would be from that of the 3000 prisoners we brought from Moscow. During the march, having no provisions to give them, they were herded together like beasts, and were not allowed on any pretext to quit the narrow limits assigned them. Without fire, perishing with cold, they lay on the bare ice; to appease their ravenous hunger, they seized with avidity the horse-flesh which was distributed to them, and for want of time and means to dress it, ate it quite raw; and I have been assured, though I dare not believe it, that when this supply failed, many of them ate the flesh of their comrades, who had sunk under their miseries." P. 278.

Whilst the retreating army drank the cup of unmingled gall, its course was marked by the outrages of unrestrained cruelty and vindictive rage. The first division, on leaving the quarters where they had slept the preceding night, generally consigned them to the flames, as well as the towns and villages through which they passed, equally regardless of the sufferings of the inhabitants, or of their following countrymen, who were thus deprived of shelter. The few houses that escaped their ravages were burnt by the second division, who completed what their comrades had left unfinished in the work of devastation. In the ruins were entombed soldiers and peasants, children wantonly murdered, and young girls massacred on the spot where they had been violated. Boundless destruction was the word of command, and such was the obedience paid to the order, that the Abbey of Kolotskoi, about 150 miles from Moscow, was the only building in that distance that was left undemolished. Stripped of its former splendour, and crowded with the sick and wounded, it resembled a hospital rather than a convent.

Nov. 6th.—"We marched towards Smolensk with an ardour that redoubled our strength, and had nearly reached Doroghoboui, which is only twenty leagues from it, when the thought alone, that in three days we should arrive there, excited a general intoxication of joy. The atmosphere, which till then had been brilliant,

was suddenly covered with cold and dark vapours; the sun, concealed by thick clouds, disappeared from our sight, and the snow falling in large flakes, involved every object in obscurity. The forests echoed with the wild howling of the wind, which blew tempestuously, and brought down the black pines overloaded with ice. The whole country presented a white and dreary surface."

"In the midst of this horrid gloom, overwhelmed by the whirlwinds of snow which assailed him, the soldier could no longer distinguish the main road from the ditches, and often fell into the latter, which served him for a tomb. Others, eager to press forward, dragged themselves along with pain; badly clothed and shod, having nothing to eat or drink, groaning and shivering with cold, they gave no assistance, neither shewed any signs of compassion to those who, sinking from weakness, expired around them."

"Many of these miserable creatures, dying from exhaustion, struggled hard in the agonies of death. Some of them in the most affecting manner bade adieu to their brethren and companions in arms; others with their last sigh pronounced the name of their mother, and of the country which gave them birth. The rigour of the cold benumbed their stiffened limbs, and soon reached their vitals. Stretched on the road, we could only see the heaps of snow that covered them, and that formed undulations in our route like those in a grave-yard. Flocks of ravens, abandoning the plains to take shelter in the neighbouring woods, croaked ominously as they flew over our heads; and troops of dogs, which had followed us from Moscow, and lived solely on our bloody remains, howled around us, as if desirous of hastening the moment when we were to become their prey." P. 329.

These famishing animals "often contended with the soldiers for the dead horses which were left on the road." P. 329.

Nov. 8. **PASSAGE OF THE VOP.**—The bed of the river was choked by the carriages, cannon, and the numerous bodies of men and horses drowned in attempting the passage. "The cries of those who were crossing; the consternation of others who were preparing to cross, and who were every moment precipitated with their horses down the steep and slippery bank into

the stream; the distraction of the women, the screams of the children, and the despair of even the soldiers, rendered this passage a scene so afflicting, that the remembrance is still dreadful to those who witnessed it." P. 318.

"Our soldiers had scarcely quitted the river, when the Cossacks, no longer meeting any obstacles, advanced to these fatal shores, where they found many poor wretches, who from the state of their health had not been able to cross the river. Although our enemies were surrounded with booty, they stript their prisoners, and left them naked on the snow. From the opposite bank we saw these Tartars dividing their bloody spoils." P. 321

"The last night had been dreadful. To form an idea of its rigours, it is necessary to conceive an army encamped on the snow, in the depth of a severe winter, pursued by an enemy to whom it could oppose neither artillery nor cavalry. The soldiers, without shoes, and almost destitute of clothing, were enfeebled by hunger and fatigue. Seated on their knapsacks, they slept on their knees. From this benumbing posture they only rose to broil a few slices of horse-flesh, or to melt some pieces of ice. They were often without wood, and to keep up a fire demolished the houses in which the generals were lodged. When we awoke in the morning the village had disappeared; and in this manner towns that were standing entire in the evening, formed the next day one vast conflagration." P. 321.

Nov. 15th. — "Whole teams, sinking under their fatigues, fell together and obstructed the way. More than *thirty thousand horses* perished in a few days. All the defiles that were impassable for the carriages, were strewed with arms, helmets, cuirasses, broken trunks, portmanteaus, and clothes of every kind. At intervals we saw trees, at the feet of which the soldiers had attempted to light fires, but had expired in making these useless efforts to warm themselves. They were stretched by dozens round the green branches, which they had in vain endeavoured to kindle; and the number of dead bodies would have blocked up the road, if we had not employed men to throw them into the ruts and ditches."

"These horrors, so far from exciting our sensibility, only hardened our hearts. Having no longer the power of exercising

our cruelty on our enemies, we turned it on each other. The best friends were estranged; whoever experienced the least sickness, was certain of never seeing his country again, unless he had good horses and faithful servants. Preserving the plunder of Moscow was preferred by most, to the pleasure of saving a comrade. We heard around us the groans of the dying, and the plaintive voice of those who were abandoned; but all were deaf to their cries, and if any one approached them when on the point of death, it was for the purpose of stripping them, and searching whether they had any remains of food." P. 345.

Nov. 17.—"Liadoui being in Lithuania, we thought that it would be respected as belonging to ancient Poland. The next morning we left it before day-break; but to our great astonishment, were, according to custom, lighted by the fire of the buildings which began to burn. This was the occasion of one of the most dreadful events that occurred in our retreat. My pen would shrink from its office, if the relation of so many misfortunes had any other object or moral, than that of holding up to detestation the fatal ambition that forced civilized people to make war like barbarians.

"Amongst the burning houses were three large barns filled with poor soldiers, chiefly wounded. They could not escape from two of these, without passing through the one in front, which was on fire; the most active saved themselves by leaping out of the windows, but all those who were sick or crippled, not having strength to move, saw the flames advancing rapidly to devour them. Touched by their shrieks, some, who were least hardened, endeavoured in vain to save them: we could only see them half buried under the burning rafters. Through whirlwinds of smoke; they entreated their comrades to shorten their sufferings by depriving them of life, and from motives of humanity, we thought it our duty to comply with their wishes. As there were some who, notwithstanding, still survived, we heard them with feeble voices crying, '*Fire on us! fire on us! at the head! at the head! do not miss!*' These heart-rending cries did not cease till the whole were consumed." P. 363.

Nov. 27. THE PASSAGE OF THE BEREZINÄ.—"They who from weariness and ignorance of danger, were less eager to cross the

river, endeavoured to light a fire, and to repose from their fatigues. In these bivouacs we saw to what a degree of brutality excess of misery will lead. We there saw men fighting for a morsel of bread. If any one, benumbed with cold, drew near a fire, the soldiers to whom it belonged inhumanly drove him away; and if a parching thirst forced you to beg a drop of water from him who had a full bowl, the refusal was always accompanied with abuse. We often heard even men of education, who had been friends, quarrelling for a handful of straw, or for a part of the dead horse they were attempting to cut up. This campaign was the more frightful, as it demoralized our characters, and gave birth to vices till then unknown to us; they who had been generous, humane, and upright, became selfish, avaricious, cruel, and unjust." P. 364.

28.—“There were two bridges, one for the carriages, the other for the infantry; but the crowd was so great, and the approaches so dangerous, that the throng collected on the bank of the Berezina became incapable of moving. In spite of these difficulties, some who were on foot saved themselves by their perseverance; but about 8 o'clock in the morning, the bridge reserved for the carriages having broken down, the baggage and artillery advanced to the other, and attempted to force a passage. Then began a frightful contest between the infantry and the cavalry, in which many of them perished by the hands of their comrades; a still greater number were suffocated at the foot of the bridge, where the carcasses of men and horses obstructed the road to such a degree, that to approach the river, it was necessary to climb over the bodies of those who had been crushed. Some of them were still alive, and struggling with the agonies of death. In order to extricate themselves, they caught hold of those who were marching over them, but the latter disengaged themselves with violence, and trampled them under their feet. Whilst they contended with so much fury, the following multitude, like a raging wave, incessantly overwhelmed fresh victims.” P. 385.

In the midst of this dreadful confusion, the Russians made a furious attack on the rear-guard.

“In the heat of the engagement many balls fell on the

miserable crowd, that for three days had been pressing round the bridge, and even some shells burst in the midst of them. Terror and despair then took possession of every heart anxious for self-preservation; women and children, who had escaped so many disasters, seemed to have been preserved to experience a death still more deplorable. Leaving their carriages, they ran to embrace the knees of the first person they met, and implored him with tears to take them to the other side. The sick and wounded, seated on the trunk of a tree, or supported on crutches, looked eagerly for some friend that could assist them; but their cries were lost in the air, every one thought only of his own safety." P. 390.

"On seeing the enemy, those who had not crossed, mingling with the Poles, rushed towards the bridge; artillery, baggage, cavalry, and infantry, all endeavoured to pass first. The strong threw into the water the weak, who impeded their advance, and trampled under foot the sick and wounded whom they found in their way. Many hundreds were crushed under the wheels of the artillery: others, who had hoped to save themselves by swimming, were frozen in the river, or perished by slipping from the ice. Thousands and thousands of hopeless victims, notwithstanding these sorrowful examples, threw themselves into the Berezina, where they nearly all perished in convulsions of grief and despair.

"The division of Girard succeeded by force of arms in overcoming all the obstacles that retarded their march, and, scaling the mountain of dead bodies that obstructed the road, gained the opposite shore, where the Russians would soon have followed them, if they had not immediately set fire to the bridge.

"Many of those who were left on the other bank with the prospect of the most horrible death, attempted to cross the bridge through the flames, but midway they threw themselves into the river to avoid being burnt. At length, the Russians having made themselves masters of the field of battle, our troops retired; the passage of the river ceased, and the most tremendous uproar was succeeded by a death-like silence." P. 393.

"In our march to Zembin, we ascended the right bank of the river, whence we could distinctly see all that passed on the other side. The cold was intense, and the wind howled frightfully: towards the close of the day, the darkness was illumined by the

numerous fires of the enemy, who occupied the hills. At the feet of these heights, groaned our companions, devoted to death: never had they experienced moments so dreadful as on this disastrous night. All the horrors that can be conceived by the imagination, would convey but a faint impression of what they endured. The elements, let loose, seemed to have combined to afflict all nature, and to chastise man. The conquerors and the conquered were overwhelmed with sufferings. The former, however, had enormous piles of burning wood, whilst the latter had neither fire nor shelter; their groans alone indicated the spot that contained so many unfortunate victims." P. 394.

Dec. 5.—“ At every step we saw brave officers supported on pine branches, covered with rags, with their hair and beards matted with icicles. These warriors, once the terror of our enemies, and the conquerors of two-thirds of Europe, having lost their noble mien, dragged themselves slowly along, and could not obtain a look of pity from the soldiers they had commanded. Their situation was the more deplorable, as whoever had not strength to march was abandoned, and every one who was abandoned, in one hour afterwards was a dead man. Every bivouac presented us the next day with the appearance of a field of battle. Whenever a soldier sunk from fatigue, his next neighbour rushed on him and stripped him of his clothes, even before he was dead. Every moment we heard them begging the aid of some charitable hand: ‘My comrades,’ exclaimed one with a heart-rending voice, ‘help me to rise; deign to lend me a hand to pursue my march.’ All passed by without even regarding him. ‘Ah: I conjure you not to abandon me to the enemy: in the name of humanity grant me the trifling assistance I ask: help me to rise.’ Instead of being moved by a prayer so touching, they considered him as already dead, and began to strip him: we then heard his cries, ‘Help! help! they murder me! Why do you trample me under your feet? Why do you take from me the remainder of my money and my bread? You even take away my clothes!’ If some officer, urged by generous feelings, did not arrive in time to prevent it, many in the like situation would have been assassinated by their own comrades.” P. 407.

Dec. 8.—“ The road was covered with soldiers who no longer

retained the human form, and whom the enemy disdained to take prisoners. Every day furnished scenes too painful to relate. Some had lost their hearing, others their speech, and many, by excessive cold and hunger, were reduced to such a state of stupid phrenzy, that they roasted the dead bodies for food, and even gnawed their own hands and arms. Some, who were too weak to lift a piece of wood, or to roll a stone towards the fire, sat down upon their dead companions, and with an unmoved countenance, gazed upon the burning logs. When they were consumed, these livid spectres, unable to get up, fell by the side of those on whom they had been seated. Many, in a state of mental alienation, in order to warm themselves, plunged their bare feet into the fire; some, with a convulsive laugh, threw themselves into the flames, and uttering shocking cries, perished in the most horrible contortions; others in a state of equal madness, followed their example, and shared the same fate!"* P. 410.

Dec. 9.—"Every day's march presented us with a repetition of the mournful scenes of which I have given a faint sketch. Our hearts, completely hardened by these disgusting pictures, lost all sensibility. We were reduced to a state of brutality that left us no feeling but the instinct of self-preservation." P. 412.

Dec. 12.—"Exhausted by one of the longest and most fatiguing marches, we reached Kowno, where the wrecks of each corps were reunited. They encamped as usual in the streets; and as we knew that our deplorable situation did not admit of our maintaining any position, the magazines, which were well stored, were given up to pillage. We had an immediate and abundant supply of clothing, flour, and rum. Our quarters were filled with broken casks, and the liquor that was spilled formed a pool in the public square. The soldiers who had been long deprived of this beverage drank to excess, and more than twelve hundred of them, in a state of intoxication, lay down to sleep in the houses or on the snow, and were frozen to death." P. 423.

* "Multitudes of these desolate fugitives lost their speech, others were seized with frenzy, and many were so maddened by the extremes of pain and hunger, that they tore the dead bodies of their comrades into pieces, and feasted on the remains!"—Porter, p. 377.

" At length, on the morning of the 13th December, of FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND warriors who passed the Niemen near Kowno, on opening the campaign, scarcely TWENTY THOUSAND repassed it, of whom at least two-thirds had not seen the Kremlin!" P. 427.

Porter in his narrative fully corroborates the statements of La-baume, respecting the sufferings of the French; but is silent on those sustained by the Russians, who, he says, " though out under all the inclemencies of the season, hardly felt its fierceness." p. 300. He expatiates on their brilliant exploits, on " the overwhelming power of the Cossac arm," on the vengeful retribution of the Cossac sword, on the " miracles of bravery" performed by the " clouds of Donskoy heroes;" and in a strain well suited to " the hyperbole of fiction," informs us, that " darkness and light were the same to the Cossac, the blaze of his own ardour was sufficient." p. 306. From a recent work, attributed to the pen of Sir Robert Wilson, we learn, that they were not exempt from calamity, although they were much better provided than the French.* " During the retreat, a ducat, then worth one pound sterling, was, with thanks, the price of a single horse-shoe, even in the Russian army." p. 24. " The Russian army under Kutusow, which, in the commencement of the pursuit, had amounted to *one hundred and twenty thousand* effective men, could not array *thirty-five thousand* on the frontier of the Duchy of Warsaw.— There were many companies without a *single man*, and many battalions with not so many as fifty." p. 32. " Such had been the destruction, even amongst the Russians, that a reinforcement of *ten thousand* men, which had marched from Wilna, arrived only with *fifteen hundred*; and of them seven hundred were next day in the hospitals, or rather the charnel-house of that city."

" In the hospitals of Wilna there were left above 17,000 dead and dying, frozen and freezing; the bodies of the former *broken up*, served to stop the cavities in windows, floors, and walls; but in one of the corridors of the Great Convent, above 1,500 bodies were piled up transversely, as pigs of lead or iron. When these were finally removed on sledges to be burnt, the most ex-

* Sketch of the Military and Political Power in Russia in the year 1817, 4th Edition, (London, 1817.)

traordinary figures were presented by the variety of their attitudes, for none seem to have been frozen in a composed state. Each was fixed in the last action of his life, in the last direction given to his limbs; even the eyes retained the last expression, either of anger, pain, or entreaty. In the roads, men were collected round the burning ruins of their cottages, which a mad spirit of destruction had fired, picking and eating the burnt bodies of fellow men, while thousands of horses were moaning in agony, with their flesh mangled and hacked to satisfy the cravings of a hunger that knew no pity. In many of the sheds, men scarcely alive, had heaped on their frozen bodies human carcasses, which, festering by the communication of animal heat, had mingled the dying and the dead in one mass of putrefaction." p. 34. "The Vistula was passed; and the main Russian army, reduced by farther sickness and exertion, mustered only *eighteen thousand* men, when the campaign was closed by the occupation of Kalish!" P. 35.

Such was the catastrophe of this memorable campaign. On a moderate computation FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND lives were lost in one hundred and seventy-three days!

From the details of misery and crime which have been selected from the Russian campaign, we may form some estimate of the evils which are inflicted on the world by the desolating scourge of war. Let it not be imagined that these evils were peculiar to this campaign, or that atrocious cruelty is exclusively confined to the soldiers of any one nation; they are the legitimate offspring of war, and the pages of history are stained with their parallels. If it be said that the colouring is too strong, we ask what language can heighten the scenes of Smolensk, Borodino, and Malo Jaroslavetz; the tragical end of the sufferers in the hospitals of Moscow, Liadoui, and Wilna; the pillage and destruction of Moscow; the passage of the Vop and of the Berezina, or the varied and countless horrors of the retreat?

If we examine the spirit, the practice, and the laws of war, by me Christian test, where shall we discover any traces of the Christian spirit? Are they not, on the contrary, in every respect the reverse of the precepts of the Prince of Peace? Are not

selfishness and indifference the predominant feelings of an army? Are not theft and burglary considered venial in war, and a violation of the principles of morality, under existing circumstances, justifiable, and sometimes even meritorious? Thus crimes, which in this enlightened country would incur the popular odium and the forfeiture of life, are palliated under softer appellations, and are committed without offence to the moral feelings of the public. The perpetrator of a single murder is branded with infamy and doomed to expiate his crime by an ignominious death: but to take away the lives of myriads in war is deemed glorious and honourable. On what principles of reason, of humanity, or of religion, can such a perversion of terms be justified? The writers of contending nations may describe a massacre in glowing language, and claim for their respective countrymen the honours of a glorious victory; the vaulted roof of a cathedral may ring with the solemn notes of a *Te Deum*, and the praises of a conqueror; and, in attending the triumphant celebration, the spectator may be dazzled with the imaginary grandeur of martial fame; but the more appropriate scene of commemoration is the field of battle, drenched with rivers of blood; and the more appropriate music, the groans of the wounded, and the responsive lamentations of the hundreds of thousands, who on a day like that of Borodino, have lost their husbands, their fathers, their sons, and their brothers. But what is the value of human life, or what the importance of human woe, in the view of those who can delight in such scenes? We speak with abhorrence of the barbarous and degrading superstitions by which human victims are offered in sacrifice to devils; but can we for a moment suppose, that our military sacrifices are acceptable and well pleasing in the sight of God? And whilst we give our sanction and support to war, do we not uphold a system more sanguinary, more cruel, and more extensively destructive than any of the heathen rites which we condemn?

Tract No. VI. of the Society for the Promotion of
Permanent and Universal Peace.

CN

UNIVERSAL PEACE;

BEING EXTRACTS FROM

A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED IN OCTOBER 1813.

BY THE

REV. DAVID BOGUE, D. D.

"They shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree; and none shall
make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it."

Micah iv. 4.

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BRIEF MEMOIR
OF
THE REV. DAVID BOGUE, D.D.

THE Author of the following Tract being deceased, a brief account of him may not be unacceptable to the reader.—DAVID BOGUE, the fourth son of John Bogue, Esq., Laird of Halydown, Berwickshire, was born on the 1st of March, 1750. His parents gave him a religious and classical education, which was completed at the University of Edinburgh. He was licensed to preach in connexion with the Presbyterian Church, but his ordination was prevented by his preference of the Independent to the Presbyterian mode of church government. This circumstance probably brought him to England, and led to his connexion with the Rev. William Smith, pastor of an Independent Church in Silver Street, London, in the year 1774. He removed to Gosport in 1777, which proved to be the scene of his future ministerial labours till his death.

The superintendence of the education of young men for the ministry and for missionaries was added to the ministerial duties of Dr. Bogue. He was also unremitting in his endeavours to promote the objects of the London Missionary Society. These several engagements he fulfilled much to the satisfaction of those with whom he was connected.

We now proceed to notice a trait in Dr. Bogue's character, which has been nearly, if not quite, overlooked by his biographers, though it reflects credit on the consistency of his Christian views, and on his honesty and zeal in avowing them ; as, with respect to the point to which we advert, he stood nearly alone, unsupported by his coadjutors and fellow-labourers in the ministry of the Gospel. When the mind is imbued with an earnest desire for the salvation of the heathen, we are not to be surprised if it anticipates with pleasure the period when "the kingdoms of this world" shall "become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ." To these delightful anticipations,

and to their effects on the mind of Dr. Bogue, we are probably indebted for his "Discourses on the Millennium," published in 1818. Of this publication Mr. Griffin remarks: "It is a work considerably in advance even of this enlightened age. It paints such a paradise upon earth as the faith of some is unable to contemplate, or their hope to realize; but it is a copy from the word of God, and one day the glorious reality shall be exhibited to the world of men and angels, as evidence of the love, the faithfulness, and the power of the great Head of the Church." To no part of the work will these observations more justly apply than to the sixth discourse, "On Universal Peace," delivered in October 1813. In this discourse the author recommends those measures "for promoting peace among the nations of the earth," which were afterwards adopted by the London Peace Society; a society to which he gave satisfactory proof of his approval of its proceedings, by enrolling his name among its members. The views which Dr. Bogue has taken of the important subjects of peace and war, are so congenial with those of the Peace Society, that the following Tract was selected from his sixth discourse, and, with the author's approbation, adopted as a tract of that Society in the year 1819. We are only paying a debt due to the memory of Dr. Bogue, by thus acknowledging the benefits that the cause of Peace has derived from his advocacy in its behalf.

Dr. Bogue was attacked with his last illness when from home, having gone to Brighton to attend a Missionary Meeting. The conflict was short, but his sufferings were acute: in the midst of them he evinced that he knew whom he had believed.—He departed this life on the 24th of October, 1825.

Convinced, as we are, that the success of those who are labouring to promote the cause of the Gospel in the earth, depends upon their feet being "shod with the preparation of the GOSPEL OF PEACE," we earnestly recommend to Christians in general, and to the ministers of the Gospel in particular, a candid and serious consideration of the powerful and impressive reasoning in the following Tract: by it, Dr. Bogue, "being dead, yet speaketh," and the result to which it leads may be summed up in the language of inspiration—"Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."

April, 1826.

ON
UNIVERSAL PEACE.

MICAH IV. 1—4.

"But in the last days it shall come to pass that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall flow unto it. And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off: and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it."

SOME of my hearers are perhaps ready to say, "How can these things be? The representation given of the state of the world is exceedingly delightful; but we are afraid it is too good to be true." Others have the same spirit of unbelief with the courtier, on whose arm the king of Israel leaned, who answered the man of God, when predicting immediate abundance in Samaria: "If the Lord would make windows in heaven, this thing might be." To give force to their objection, they say—"Look at the face of Christendom: there is not a nation upon earth which professes to believe the holy Scriptures to be the word of God, but is engaged in war; and while they are carrying on the contest with each other, all the Mahometan and Pagan kingdoms are living at peace."*

In the pages of the oldest records, which lie open to our view, what read we of the polished empires of Asia, the Assyrian, and the Persian, but their bloody wars! what are the chronicles of Greece and Rome, but the detail of their almost incessant and sanguinary contests! In a word, *war* forms the essence of all the most renowned histories of the ancient civilized nations. Might it not be supposed, that bitter experience and superior advantages, especially from the introduction of Christianity, would have given a different colour to the conduct of modern States,—in which civilization has been carried to a greater height, and to a wider extent, than in ancient times? But the supposition, alas! will not be found to be supported by facts. Of what is the mass of the history of each country in Europe, the most cultivated portion of mankind, and especially of this country, which accounts itself the most polished of the whole; of what is the mass of its history composed, but of its battles and its wars? Would there be no reason, on a review of the annals of modern Europe, to conclude, that the nations engaged in wars, and continued them till they were exhausted; and then, when men and money failed, they made peace? But no sooner did they recover from their distress, and become rich and prosperous, and able to fight again, than to war they went, with their whole soul: so that the interval of peace seemed only for the purpose of regaining their strength, that they might contend with greater effect and eagerness than before. So generally has this been the case, that a person would be ready to believe war between neighbouring nations to be their natural state: and the present condition of Europe, in which war has, with a short intermission, raged for more than twenty years, seems to give undeniable force to the conclusion. But let none despair of a better order of things.

When the holy angels proclaimed the Saviour's advent, this is mentioned as one grand distinguishing attribute of his reign—"peace on earth." In the 72d Psalm, which contains a most striking prophecy concerning the kingdom of the Redeemer, a similar representation is given of the state of the world: v. 3. "the mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills by righteousness;" and v. 7. "In his days shall the

righteous flourish, and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth."

The same doctrine is evidently contained in the 11th Chapter of the Prophecies of Isaiah, v. 4—9. As the natural accompaniment of that righteousness, which shall be the girdle of Messiah's loins, and that faithfulness, which shall be the girdle of his reins, "the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox: And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp; and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice's den." Do I strain these figures, when I say that they denote the destruction of the evil passions which reign in the hearts of men; and which make them, like the wild beasts of the forest, tear each other to pieces; and like the dragons of the wilderness, instil their deadly poison into the veins of those who approach their dens? To all this enmity and rage shall succeed harmony and peace: the very nature of men will appear to be changed, and they will dwell together in tranquillity and love. That this is no fanciful comment, is evident from the interpretation of God himself; for by a method no wise uncommon in the sacred Scriptures, the Holy Spirit, after powerfully impressing both the imagination and the heart with a profusion of the most beautiful and interesting figures—by placing beneath these figures a sentence of plain didactic language, instructs us so clearly in their meaning, that he may run who reads. He has done so here, v. 9. "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain." That the season of these joyful events is to be connected with the glory of the latter days, when the religion of Jesus shall be universal, is demonstrated from the words which follow; "for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

During that period, "nation shall not lift up sword against nation." Universal harmony will prevail. No desire of conquest will then be found. Contented with their own territory, none will seek to encroach on their neighbours' lands. Over the face of the whole earth, peace shall reign, and the nations shall form

a holy brotherhood, emulous to promote each other's prosperity and happiness. The art of murdering will then cease: "they shall learn war no more." No naval nor military colleges shall then exist: no time, no labour, no skill be employed to teach the stripling and the recruit how to fight, and how to wound and slay. The study then among Christ's disciples will be after the example of their Master, "who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

So discordant is this description with the general sentiments and feelings and practice of mankind in the present day, that after all the potent arguments adduced, some may still be inclined to disbelieve the existence of such a state, and be ready to exclaim with the voice of incredulity, "it is impossible." The spirit of God foreseeing this obduracy of heart, in order to remove every doubt, inspired the prophet Micah to add to his prediction these omnipotent words:—"For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." He, whom the word of the faithful God will not satisfy, has no higher evidence to receive, and must be left to the curse of his unbelief: but surely every Christian must say, "the Lord hath spoken, and I believe his word."

Let your heart, Christian, sweetly repose on this delightful scene; for wearied and harassed you must be with the din of arms, with the sight of slaughter and of blood, and the widely extended range of human misery. Turn your eyes away from the hateful spectacle, and look forward to the joyful season, when war shall be unknown, but in tradition and in name; and when all the nations of the world shall dwell together, from generation to generation, in peace and love. Now the aim of every ruler in Christendom is to do all the injury in his power to the nations with which he is at war. Now men of the most gigantic minds, enlarged by science, and corrected by extensive observation and experience, are employing all their energies, night and day, in inventing methods, by which slaughter and desolation may be most widely scattered. Now hundreds of thousands of men, of the greatest personal strength and courage, are enduring fatigues, are suffering privations, are exposing themselves to dangers and deaths beyond what words can express, to carry the plans or others into execution, by spreading destruction as extensively as

possible ; and in a way which may be most severely felt. What Christian's heart but *must*—I am afraid I can only say, but *ought* to sicken at the view, and bewail the present state of things, as the disgrace of our nature, and still more of our profession as the disciples of Jesus Christ. How solacing is it to look forward to the period predicted in the text ! Then the rulers of the world, while their first cares are employed for the happiness of their own people, will also extend their concern to other nations, and strive to promote their welfare and prosperity as widely as they can. Then, men of superior minds and talents will exercise them, in endeavouring to make discoveries, by which other countries as well as their own may reap essential benefit. Then, the vigour and energy of the comeliest youth will be engaged in the peaceful occupations of domestic life ; and such as leave their native land, will endeavour to promote the happiness of the regions to which they go.—But still some may say, “ How can these things be ? ”

So different is that state of things from the present, or from any which the world has yet exhibited, that it may appear to some a mere chimera—a Utopian dream. But let such persons weigh the following considerations :

First. The natural result of the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel. Hear its language, Matt. xxii. 37, 38, 39. “ Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind : This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it ; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.” Matt. v. 43, 44. “ Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.” Rom. xii. 19, 20, 21. “ Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath ; for it is written, Vengeance is mine ; I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink ; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.” Of the spirit and commands of the Gospel, these passages furnish a fair specimen, and teach us what Christians ought to be. Do these encourage or even permit

a disciple of Jesus to take away the precious life of the inhabitant of another country, more than of one of his own—or indeed to injure him in the smallest degree? You who are acquainted with the Bible, know that it every where enjoins love and good-will to men; and commands us to promote their happiness to the utmost of our power. If all mankind were under the influence of these principles, would they not produce universal peace?

Second. The nature of Christianity will be better understood in all its parts. When the religion of Jesus was first propagated in the world, some of its doctrines and precepts were peculiarly in opposition to the sentiments and dispositions both of the Jews and Gentiles; hence they were either rejected or perverted. Against these corruptions, several of the Epistles of the New Testament are directly levelled: but, alas! too many of them have retained their influence to the present day. This has been especially the case, with respect to that love which the disciples of Christ ought to bear to the whole human race; as to the way in which it should be manifested; and particularly as to the manner in which Christians, considered in their relation as subjects of civil society, ought to demean themselves towards the members of other communities, or subjects of other governments. How many Christians, who, acting as individuals, would be filled with horror at the thought of taking away the life of a man of another country, for any provocation which could be given,—can, when acting as members of the commonwealth, put to death men of other lands without remorse, and even glory in the deed, as conferring a title to honour and renown. The obligation of the followers of Jesus to the exercise of universal love and of good-will to mankind, will be both clearly understood and deeply felt. It will be ascertained, that individual accountableness runs through every relation in which man can be placed;—that a Christian cannot lend his influence or his energies to execute the designs of caprice, avarice, ambition, or revenge;—and that when mixed with a hundred thousand of his species, he is no more justified in taking away the life of a man of another country for those ends, than if he acted by himself alone. Christians are men of peace, and should never disturb the peace of society: their religion will teach

them that in evil times, if they are not allowed to be passive, their duty is to suffer injury themselves, in order to avoid doing injury to others.

Third. In consequence of such a change of views, the true spirit of the Gospel will be imbibed by every Christian individual: and the number of these individuals will be so great, as to comprehend the generality of mankind. To love the whole family of Adam, and to manifest this love to them in every relation, both public and private, will be the predominant temper in civil society. To abstain from doing injury to men of other countries, will have equal authority over his conscience, as not to commit adultery and not to be guilty of sacrilege. To exercise benevolence towards all, and to endeavour, by every means in his power, to promote the happiness of all, will be accounted of like obligation by the Christian, as loving his brothers and sisters, and honouring his father and his mother.

Fourth. Those evil principles, which now reign in the hearts of the mass of mankind, and which are the causes of war, shall be then destroyed. "From whence come wars and fightings among you?" is a question asked by the apostle James, ch. iv. 1, 2, and he returns an answer, which develops the origin of every war that has since been waged. "Come they not hence, even from your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust, and have not; ye kill, and desire to have, and cannot obtain; ye fight and war." Such is the course from the fountain to the ocean. But what are those "lusts," or, in other words, those desires and passions of which he speaks? Are they a peculiar form of malignity? Has the evil spirit first kindled them in the flames of hell, and hastened with them to earth, and thrust them still burning into the heart of one, whom he had before marked as fit for his purpose, on account of his singular wickedness? No such thing. They are none of them of an uncommon kind: none but the ordinary passions of the human heart—pride, ambition, caprice, false honour, avarice, sensuality, malice, envy, and hatred. These lusts raging in the breast of a mean man, form a drunkard, an adulterer, a thief, a robber, or an assassin: when they operate with all their strength in the bosoms of the rulers of the world, they produce war and

slaughter, and the tears of ten thousand widows and orphans, and the desolation and misery of nations.

Let these evil passions be subdued, and "wars will cease unto the ends of the earth, the bow will be broken, the spear cut asunder, and the chariot will be burned in the fire." That such will be the case, we may naturally conclude—when it is considered, that in the place of those hateful lusts, love to God and love to man, meekness, humility, forgiveness of injuries, and ardent benevolence to every thing human, will fill the soul, and bear absolute sway over all its powers.

Fifth. These principles will regulate the conduct of nations in all their intercourse with each other. Multitudes of individuals in their transactions with their fellows, have acted under the influence of the precepts of the Gospel; but to individuals the operation of them has been confined. No one nation, since the day that Pilate testified of Christ, "I find no fault in this man"—and yet condemned him to death, ever administered a system of government according to Christian principles, or pursued a regular succession of political measures, under the influence of the spirit of Christian benevolence.*

An objection has been often raised, that if a nation,—for example, this to which we belong,—were to act upon these principles, and refuse to go to war, it would soon be swallowed up by other nations. In answer to this, let the following things be considered:

First. No instance of this pacific spirit in a community has yet occurred in the history of the world: no proof can therefore be

* We may quote the example of Pennsylvania, which settlement was established, and long conducted on Gospel principles. See Clarkson's Life of Penn. The Edinburgh Review, in their critique of this Work, say, in allusion to Penn's celebrated Treaty with the Indians, "Such indeed was the spirit in which the negotiation was entered into, and the corresponding settlements conducted, that for the space of more than seventy years, and so long indeed as the Quakers retained the chief power in the government, the peace and amity which had been thus solemnly promised and concluded, never was violated; and a large, though solitary, example afforded of the facility with which they, who are really sincere and friendly in their views, may live in harmony with those who are supposed to be peculiarly fierce and faithless."

brought against it from facts. It is an untried system. Long has the method of nation injuring nation been practised—and practised without any lasting good effect. Let men now try the way of abstaining from injury and of conferring benefits; and thus heap coals of fire upon the heads of their enemies. It cannot possibly succeed worse: but it may have unspeakably happier results.

Second. A person of a humble, pacific spirit, leads the most quiet life. Is it not seen, that an inoffensive deportment, especially when it is united to uprightness and sanctity, preserves its possessor from many quarrels in which others are involved, and from many injuries which the quarrelsome sustain? But why should it not be so with nations too? Like causes produce like effects; and if nations were as exemplary in those virtues as individuals are, and as careful to avoid giving offence, and as slow in taking it,—the number of their wars would be astonishingly diminished. If, on some occasions, the most peaceable are obliged to have recourse to the decision of the law for the redress of a grievance, why could not a council of modern Amphyctyons be established in Europe, to settle national disputes? Surely the benign spirit of the Gospel should long ere now have taught Christendom to adopt an institution, of which the pagan wisdom of ancient Greece set them so charming and instructive an example.

Third. The hitherto untried exercise of active benevolence by such a nation, would tend still more effectually to preserve peace and prevent war. There have been individuals, who, by adding to dignity and sanctity of personal character a course of unwearied compassion for the distressed, have risen to so high esteem in the general sentiments of mankind, that the very worst of men have felt an awe of reverence even for their name, and have been afraid not only to do them an injury, but even to offer them an insult. Why should not this be the case also with communities? It would, if they pursued a similar conduct. Great Britain has often sent fleets, and fire-ships, and bombs, and armed men, with all their artillery of destruction, to burn and destroy cities, and put the defenders to death, if they resist. The natural consequence has been, that multitudes of them have been slain; numerous families of peaceable inhabitants, consisting of fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, and infants at the breast, have been buried under the

ruins of their dwelling, or dashed to pieces in the streets, while the surrounding country has been mournfully desolated. What is the effect of this warfare? Every survivor's heart is filled with hatred of the invaders, and burns with revenge. The same spirit he conveys down as an inheritance to his children; and let it be remembered, "that those are no little enemies."

Let us suppose that, instead of such an armament, our rulers were to commission ships laden with corn, and clothes, and money, at only half the amount of expense,—and to accompany the gift with a letter to the government of a neighbouring country to this effect: "Through the goodness of God, we have had an abundant harvest, and hearing that you have not, we send a present of corn to the widows and the fatherless, the orphan, the blind, and the lame. As many of them may be unprovided with raiment for the inclemency of winter, accept of the clothing which will be delivered to you by our fleet, and divide among those who are in the greatest distress, the money which our messengers carry in their hands." What influence would such conduct have upon the people of that country? Would it leave any stings behind in their souls? No. It would conciliate the esteem and affection of all. Tell them after this, "Britain wishes to injure you." No. They would say, it cannot be: it is impossible that the people of that land should desire to do us harm. Command them to buckle on their armour, and wage war with the English. They would answer, "We cannot fight with them: the weapons would drop from our hands: we love them too well to hurt them: continue in peace." If any State would act in this way to its neighbours, it would have no enemies: the sound of war would not be heard in its dominions.

Fourth. A nation so much under the influence of the Gospel, as to feel the obligation to live at peace with its neighbours, would diffuse, in a considerable measure, the same spirit among them. No people can have arrived at so exalted a state of wisdom and goodness, without having made a powerful impression on all the countries around. By diplomatic characters, the principles have been conveyed into the cabinets of the rulers of these countries; they have been propagated in conversation by travellers—in ten thousand respectable domestic groups: above all, they have been

widely disseminated by books, circulated through the mass of the people by converts to the cause. The natural force of these principles will recommend them to men of intelligence; their excellence to philanthropists, and their claims of submission from the authority of God, to all who regulate their conduct by the Divine will. Hence there would be a progress towards the spirit of peace in every land. While the highly favoured nation was enjoying the fruits of autumn, and feasting on them with delight,—in some countries the summer would be commencing, in others, the spring would be seen to advance, and in the latest, the swelling of the buds would denote its speedy approach. From the growth of the pacific principle in neighbouring regions, the facility of living at peace would be astonishingly increased; and the wise and happy nation, determined to act on the maxims of the Gospel, would find its difficulties diminished from year to year, and its system of love gaining ground from day to day! O that our country would set the example to the world, and commence the reign of peace on earth, and good-will towards men of every land!

Fifth. To all these considerations, add the existence and nature of divine Providence. Is it at all unreasonable to suppose, that a nation living under the influence of the spirit of the Gospel, and uniformly acting according to its pacific principles, would experience the peculiar protection of the great Governor of the world? How remarkable, in this respect, was his care over Israel of old, when they faithfully kept his covenant and his testimonies; none of the neighbouring nations desired their land, or disturbed their repose. During the time of the theocracy, it was only when they rebelled against God that they felt the scourge of war, and the hostile rage of the people around them. Is it irrational to conceive, that if any one country were to be regulated in all its domestic measures, and in all its foreign relations, by the spirit of the Gospel, it would be the peculiar charge of God, and enjoy the smiles of his approbation, and the guardianship of his providence, in a degree hitherto unknown since the commencement of the Christian era, because such Christian conduct in a government has been unknown? Individuals will have rewards and

punishments dispensed to them in a future state ; but there nations, as such, will have no existence. Is it improper then to argue, that virtuous and pious nations will consequently have their reward in a present world ? and as the blessings bestowed in this form have been observed to have an intimate connexion with the virtues displayed, what is more reasonable than to conclude—that on a nation, the lover and advocate of peace, the God of peace will bestow the blessing of peace ?

But the foregoing objection, which I hope now occasions no more hesitation in your minds, is not the only difficulty that is felt on the subject : another is frequently brought forward. “ If the love of peace, producing the most determined enmity to war, be the spirit of Christianity, and the very essence of one part of its principles, how comes it to pass, that so little of it has appeared in the dispositions, in the deportment, and in the writings of persons professing to be the disciples of Christ ? ” The following considerations will, I hope, solve the difficulty, and furnish a satisfactory answer to the objection.

That there has been, in the minds of the mass of persons professing Christianity, a gross ignorance of this feature of the Gospel, is too evident to be denied : and we can sufficiently account for its existence, from a variety of causes operating with mighty force upon the human heart ; which, inheriting a deep depravity from the first parents of mankind, is unapt to receive principles contrary to its evil inclinations, and that would stop the torrent of malevolent passions.

To the spirit of peace, the prejudices of education are all opposed. The books which the scholar learns to read, were in general written under the influence of that ferocious depravity. They teach the child to hate or to despise every nation but his own ; they represent war as the theatre of glory ; they tell him to rejoice in the miseries inflicted on the people of another country by those of his own ; and they render him passionately ambitious to wear the ensanguined laurels of victory, by achieving something in the work of destruction, which will be above the common standard. Unhappy youth ! who receives such lessons from his master and his books, and has his soul so early contaminated, and his principles

polluted in their source! Though he may afterwards become a Christian, how seldom are these unchristian sentiments eradicated from his breast.

The spirit of the men of the world has likewise had considerable influence, in preventing the growth of the spirit of peace. Hitherto, those who deny themselves, take up their cross, and follow Christ, have been few in number compared with the ungodly; and their strength has not lain among those classes in society which are pre-eminent in rank, in wealth, and in literature; and which, from these advantages, sway the public mind almost without control. On this account, not only the sentiments of Christians have had little weight, but they themselves have sustained no small injury from the influence of those exalted personages, both on their opinions and their conduct,—and especially in reference to the subject before us. This I consider as one very powerful cause of the unchristian spirit of the disciples of Jesus in respect of war.

An unhappy misconception of the Jewish economy, has led many into error respecting the doctrine of Christianity on this point. The state of that people was singular. The land of Canaan was their inheritance, by the free gift of Jehovah himself; and they were authorised by him to take possession, by extirpating the nations that inhabited it, whose iniquities were full. Afterwards, when this land, the heritage of the Lord, was invaded, they were commanded to go to war, and expel the invaders with the edge of the sword. All this is peculiar to that people, and has no parallel in the history of mankind. When, weary of the theocracy, they had obtained what they so eagerly desired—kings like the nations around them, many of their wars were like the wars of those nations,—wars of ambition, of covetousness, of hatred and revenge, and fall under the general sentence of condemnation from the Gospel of Christ. From not attending to this difference of circumstances, many Christians have considered all those wars as the wars of the Lord;—have conceived themselves justified in being advocates of war, and bound to approve the wars in which their country was engaged; and have supposed theirs was like Canaan of old, God's favourite land. Hence they have made Jehovah a party in their quarrels; and have weakly and wickedly

imagined that the common Father of mankind would degrade Himself, by assuming the character of the topical deity of their country ; and pour out his wrath on the nations contending with them, because they are God's chosen people. How large a portion of the disciples of Christ has been hereby led astray from the pacific spirit of the Gospel, it is painful to relate. Should I not rather say, how small is the number of Christians which has not been drawn away from the simplicity of Christ, and has escaped the contagion of this Jewish spirit, which has for ages overspread and defiled the Christian Church.

From the prevalence of a pagan spirit, multitudes that profess Christianity have lost sight of the peaceful genius of the Gospel; and become the advocates of bloodshed and of war. The ancient writers of Greece and Rome are the idols of modern times, in most countries of Europe. To the generous youth in the middle and superior classes of society, they are the books of education in our public schools—and in what veneration are they held ! From them, among other evils, the youth imbibe a pagan morality, which, instead of flowing from the wisdom from above, which “ is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits,”—more resembles that from beneath, “ which is earthly, sensual, and devilish.” This pagan morality, far from inculcating or p ssessing humility, meekness, benevolence, and peace—those essential attributes of the Gospel—is selfish, proud, ambitious, savage, hates other nations, despises the mass of mankind, and seeks distinction and honour in the field of battle, and amidst heaps of the slain. With such sentiments have the greater part of statesmen and nobles come from the school and the college, into the senate and the cabinet. Such is the morality which is most commonly found in the speeches of the most eloquent public men : and the maxims generally recommended and adopted, accord much more with the sentiments of the Grecian and Roman classics, than with the spirit of the evangelists and apostles of Christ. From the influence of such a morality, millions of the youth of Europe have been brought to an untimely grave, who would have been spared till the natural termination of life—had those at the helm of public affairs been directed in their course by the principles of the glorious Gospel. But instead of a paragraph, a volume

would be necessary to delineate all the evils which have sprung from the prevalence of a pagan morality, in the higher walks of life. From them it has descended to the humbler stations of society, and thus has pervaded the general mass of the community: and from the highest to the lowest class, it operates with mighty power, as one of the chief causes why men have not imbibed nor acted in that spirit of peace which Christianity enjoins.

From these sources have flowed the ignorance and the dislike of the pacific spirit of the Gospel, and the approbation and ardent love of war, which have so much dishonoured the Christian name. They do not, you perceive, weaken in the smallest degree the force of the arguments which have been adduced, and which demonstrate the religion of Jesus to be the constant friend of peace, and the inveterate foe of war.

If this be the doctrine of the New Testament, how much is it to be lamented that multitudes who profess to be Christians, are opposed to it, both in sentiments and in practice. If we trace wars to their origin, the apostle James tells us what that is; and it is so bad, that it ought not to find one advocate among those who name the name of Jesus. But alas! the generality of them enter as keenly into the quarrels of nations, as any of the men of the world can. Yet surely the influence of Christian principles, the feeling of that love which is due to all the children of men, and the awful thought, of multitudes of immortal souls being hurried unprepared to the tribunal of God, should repress this spirit, and should produce an unquenchable desire of peace on earth; which the sight of so much misery before our eyes from the ravages of war ought, if possible, to heighten.

But what is still more to be bewailed, ministers of Christ, who ought to be patterns of peace and love, have drunk into the spirit of war, and sought to make their God a party in every contention in which their country has happened to be engaged. They pray to him for victory over its enemies; they give Him thanks when ten or twenty thousand of their foes are destroyed, and in louder strains if still more have been slain; and in their discourses to their flock, endeavour to inspirit them to battle and to bloodshed. Surely the ministers of Jesus should never sound the warwhoop:—prayers for peace and good-will towards men, better

become the lips of the servants of the Prince of Peace. How displeasing to God must such conduct be! How greatly is he dishonoured by it! What miseries does war bring on the bodies, and especially on the souls of men; and these not prevented, but encouraged, by persons who profess to love God with all their heart, and their neighbour as themselves! What pity is due to the men who share the most deeply in these miseries; who, from the constitution of civil society, are not the cause of the contest, but the instruments constrained to act their hazardous and painful part. The Most High beholds all with an impartial eye, and will execute righteous judgment.

We have reason to bless God, that the number of those Christians, who perceive and feel their obligations to seek the peace of mankind, is increasing from day to day. In the first ages of the Church, there were some who understood this to be the doctrine of the Gospel. At the Reformation, it had also its advocates: but they unhappily appended to it other sentiments, which were unfounded, and thus detracted from the weight of their testimony to peace. Since that time, none have been so faithful witnesses to the pacific spirit of the religion of Jesus as the Quakers; and had all the rulers of Christendom been of that denomination for the last hundred and fifty years, the oceans of blood shed in wars would have no existence—and how much happier a countenance would Europe have worn than she now wears! For more than a century after their rise, few besides themselves adopted their peaceful creed. But of late, it has been embraced by considerable numbers among every sect; and there is reason to conclude, that if it has made converts in the most unfavourable circumstances, its progress will be rapid when the state of the world, by the restoration of peace, shall be more congenial to its claims.

All the disciples of Christ should imbibe the spirit of peace. It displays unspeakable mercy in God, that while individuals, who have been made partakers of his grace, maintain sentiments injurious to his honour, and the happiness of man, he should yet compassionately hold communion with them. But these unchristian opinions certainly prevent them from enjoying those full communications, which God would otherwise impart. Let these old things, which belong to the old man, be done away, and all things

become new. Understand your calling, brethren: It is from darkness into marvellous light, that ye may shine as lights in the world, that ye may do no harm to any person of any country, but all the good in your power to all mankind. This was the spirit of your Master and of his religion: let it be yours; and let the ardour and universality of your benevolence continually increase.

Above all, let the ministers of Christ be men of peace, and advocates for the peace of the world. If we seek to inflame the malevolent passions of the soul, who shall be found to cool them? The people of the world talk of glory from victory and conquest; but we know that honour and happiness can arise only from doing the will of God, and living in subjection to Him, and in peace with men. Let us tell the world so, and call them away from their angry contests for mastery, to dwell in love. O that those who preach to emperors and kings, to ministers of state, to senates and to parliaments, would lift up their voice like a trumpet, and proclaim to them from the great Jehovah and from Jesus Christ, who shed his blood for sinners, to save them from misery,—that the religion of the New Testament is a religion of peace;—and that for the blood of every man slain in war, the Almighty Ruler of the universe will demand an account from those who direct the affairs of nations, and decree violence and war, and not pursue peace with their whole heart.

The co-operation of all enlightened Christians to diffuse these benevolent principles, would do much to promote the peace of the world. The great changes in the moral world, which are pregnant with happiness to man, are only to be brought about by the most vigorous exertions of moral principle in the breast of the wise and good. It is from the operation of principles, that the peaceful state of the world is to be produced: and these principles must be disseminated by those in whose hearts they reign. Few they may be at first; but the number will continually increase. Let every one consider what he can do to promote the grand work, and let him do it without delay. He that has nothing else, has a tongue to plead the cause of peace in his domestic circle, and infuse his sentiments into the minds of his neighbours too, and his acquaintances, and those he meets with in the way. Another can write clearly and forcibly: let his letters to

his friends bear testimony to his zeal, and let him compose tracts, to enlighten society on the subject. A third has a talent for poetry : let him in tuneful numbers touch the reader's heart, with a delineation of the miseries of war and the blessings of peace. A fourth possesses wealth, and he can purchase these publications, and spread them far and wide. A fifth is a man of genius, and could in a fuller and more elaborate treatise give an extensive as well as an impressive view of the doctrine : let him consecrate his powers to this service, in honour of the Prince of Peace. A sixth has the eloquence of Apollos ; and he can stand up in a public assembly, and arrest the attention and move the heart of every hearer : let him cry aloud and spare not, and merit the title of the orator of peace. The ministers of Christ from the pulpit (and it is no improper theme for that hallowed place) can lead their audience to a sight of the sources of wars,—those lusts which war in the members, and unveil their deformity ; and can display with success the charming beauties of peace on earth and good-will to men.

To collect the force of all these into one centre, from which the rays of light and heat may be emitted, in every direction, with more powerful energy, is a thing of high importance. This effect an association will produce ; and as we live in an age of societies to combine individual efforts for public benefit, why should not one be formed for promoting peace among the nations of the earth ? If such a society were formed, and were to exert itself with becoming activity, in ten years' time the pacific principle would be so widely diffused through every rank in the community, that it would be no easy matter (the expression is too cold)—it would be inconceivably difficult—nay, almost impossible, to prevail on the people of Great Britain to engage in war. The subject, every one will allow, merits all the attention that can be given it. We want a man, wise, good, benevolent, and zealous, to lay the foundation stone of this temple of peace ; and aid in demolishing the capitol of war, that its stones may be taken to build the walls of this sacred edifice.

O that He would call forth some wise, pious, enlightened, ardent philanthropist, who shall form this determination in his heart, and carry it into execution !—" To convince mankind that Christianity forbids war, to banish the idea of its lawfulness from their creed, and the love of its practice from their hearts ; and to make all men seek

peace with their whole soul, and pursue it with all their might, till it establish an universal reign over human nature, shall be the grand object of my existence on earth." And how exalted an object of benevolence does he choose! The suffering of the tenants of a prison-house, in comparison of the miseries of war, is but as the anguish of a single family pining away and dying for want, when placed by the side of a whole populous province desolated by famine, which has consumed all its inhabitants. Even the more extensive calamities of the African slave trade, drawn up in array before the ravages and tortures and horrors of war, are but like the hill Mizar compared to Lebanon. What blessings will not descend on the head and heart of the man who devotes himself to the destruction of this monstrous foe of human happiness?

The influence of the female sex is universally acknowledged and felt. I want that influence to diffuse peace and love over the face of the earth. I scarcely know how to address myself to respectable matrons, who after nursing their sons with the tenderest affection, send them away to the work of desolation, and rejoice at their success—when they make women like yourselves widows, and their children fatherless; or overwhelm an aged father and mother with sorrow, because their boy perished in the field by your young hero's sword: and then they praise God for what their sons have done. A thousand times rather would I that God had said concerning me—"Write this man childless"—than that a son of mine had ever imbrued his hands in the blood of man his brother.

A greater number of celebrated female writers than the present, no age has produced. But what grave essay in prose, or what poetic effusion of yours, do we find to bring war into disgrace, and to awaken the horror of every feeling heart against its miseries and its crimes? In which of your works have you come forth as the advocates of humanity and the champions of peace? Tell me, that I may withdraw the censure. You are silent: you blush at this reproach, and well you may:—they may justly be the most burning blushes that ever reddened the female cheek. Had you employed your tender eloquence in the cause of humanity and peace, ten thousands of ingenuous youths, whose hearts' flood was poured out on the ground, and whose faces were bloodless and pale in death, as they lay in the open field,—had been spared, and now adorning

both the domestic circle and society with their presence and their affection. To speak thus grieves me to the heart; but I am compelled to do it—for there are seasons when truth must be spoken, however painful it may be both to the speaker and the auditor. You blush for your neglect: but I must have more than blushes—I want fruits meet for repentance. My earnest wish is to see you become the determined foes of war, and the most ardent friends of peace. I long to hear you plead with all your souls (and who can plead like you?) for the harmony of the world, and peace among the nations. If every intelligent and pious and benevolent female would engage heart and hand in the work, the success would be beyond conception great.

Oh! if all the ministers of the Gospel would unite in this labour of love and work of peace, what wonders would be done! What an amazing change for the better would be produced! Shall I bring arguments to convince or motives to induce you to lift up your voice for the peace of the world? I will not bring one. If you refuse your aid—"go, strip yourselves of the robes of office, depart and officiate at the altars of some savage idol, who delights in slaughter and in blood." But why do I speak thus? Surely none of you, my brethren, will refuse to come forth to the help of the Lord against the mighty foes of human happiness. On the contrary, each will exert himself in the glorious cause, and endeavour to excel every other, in maintaining the honour of the Prince of Peace; and strive that there may not be an individual in his flock who has not imbibed the principles of peace. Such a union of efforts will, through the divine blessing, infallibly gain the day; and in prayer for this blessing, let every heart be continually lifted up to the God of all grace!

Tract No. VII. of the Society for the Promotion of
Permanent and Universal Peace

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

APPLICABILITY OF THE

PACIFIC PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

TO THE

Conduct of States :

AND

ON THE LIMITATIONS WHICH THOSE PRINCIPLES IMPOSE

ON THE RIGHTS OF

SELF-DEFENCE.

BY JONATHAN DYMOND.

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OBSERVATIONS, &c.

THAT Christianity is a system of Peace, and that its principles are utterly incompatible with the violent passions—with the inflicting of injuries—with retaliation and revenge,—are truths on which, since no one disputes them, it is not necessary to insist. The pacific precepts of the New Testament are so reiterated, they are enforced by such awful sanctions, and the consequent duties of forbearance and love are so interwoven with the whole system of Christianity, that none can question the obligation of those duties without questioning the authority of Christianity itself.

Yet it is found, that the ordinary practice of mankind, individually and nationally, is inconsistent with these duties, and that the systems of moralists are far indeed from enforcing their obligation, in that degree, or to that extent, in which they are enforced by the New Testament: so that although we acknowledge, in general language, the authority of the pacific precepts of the Gospel, yet in the application of these precepts to our conduct in life, we find endless excuses for disobeying them, and endless casuistry to justify our disobedience. It is the purpose of the present Essay to offer some observations upon this casuistry and these excuses.

There have been several works recently published, to diffuse and advocate the sentiment, that War is absolutely incompatible with the

Christian religion. To these the reader is referred*: a perusal of some of them, previously to the examination of the present Essay, would enable him more accurately to appreciate the observations which it contains; since he would thus be led, from the contemplation of the pure and authoritative precepts of Christianity, to the consideration of those arguments which are urged in opposition to them by philosophical morality, and which are adduced from considerations of expediency and self-preservation.

The argument to which, perhaps, the greatest importance is attached by the advocate of war, and by which thinking men are chiefly induced to acquiesce in its lawfulness, is this:—*That a distinction is to be made between rules which apply to us as individuals, and rules which apply to us as subjects of the state; and that the pacific injunctions of Christ in his sermon on the mount, and all the other kindred commands and prohibitions of the Christian Scriptures, have no reference to our conduct as Members of the political body.* It should be observed, in relation to this argument, that some of those who so think, acknowledge that the peaceable, forbearing, forgiving dispositions of Christianity, are *absolutely obligatory upon individuals* in their full extent: this acknowledgment the reader is solicited to bear in his recollection.

Now it is obvious, that the proof of the rectitude of this distinction must be expected from those who make it. Christianity propounds general rules, of which, in some cases, the advocate of War denies the applicability. *He*, therefore, is to produce the reason and the authority for the exception. Now we would remind him that general rules are binding, unless their inapplicability can be clearly shown. We would remind him that the general rules in question are laid down by the commissioned

* See the other Tracts of the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace;—1st. The Substance of a Pamphlet entitled, A Solemn Review of the Custom of War, &c.—2d. War inconsistent with the Doctrines and Example of Jesus Christ. By J. Scott.—3d. An Essay on the Doctrines and Practice of the Early Christians as they relate to War, &c. By Thomas Clarkson, M. A.—4th. Extracts from the Writings of Erasmus, on the Subject of War.—5th. Sketches of the Horrors of War, chiefly selected from Labaume's Narrative of the Campaign in Russia in 1812. By Evan Rees.—6th. On Universal Peace; being Extracts from a Discourse delivered in October, 1813, by Rev. David Bogue, D. D.

ministers of Jesus Christ, and by Jesus Christ himself; and we would recommend him therefore, to hesitate before he institutes exceptions to those rules, upon any authority *inferior* to the authority which made them.

The foundation for the distinction between the duties of individuals and those of communities, must, we suppose, be sought in one of these two positions:

1. That as no laws exist, of general authority amongst nations, by which one state is protected from the violence of another, it is necessary that each independent community should protect itself: and that the security of a nation cannot sometimes be maintained otherwise than by War.

2. That as the general utility and expediency of actions is the foundation of their moral qualities, and as it is sometimes most conducive to general utility and expediency that there should be a war; war is therefore, sometimes, lawful.

The first of these positions will probably be thus enforced. If an individual suffers aggression, there is in every state an acknowledged, legal, and constitutional power to which he can apply, that is above himself and above the aggressor; a power by which the bad passions of those around him are restrained, or by which their aggressions are punished. But amongst nations there is no acknowledged superior or common arbitrator. War, therefore, is the only means which one nation possesses of protecting itself from the aggression of another.

This, certainly, is plausible reasoning: but it happens to this argument as to many others, that it assumes *that* as established, which has not been proved, and upon the proof of which the truth of the whole argument depends. It assumes, That the *reason* why an individual is not permitted to use violence, is, *that the laws will use it for him*. And in this the fallacy of the position consists: for the foundation of the duty of forbearance in private life is *not* that the laws will punish aggression, but *that Christianity requires forbearance*. Undoubtedly, if the existence of a common arbitrator were the only foundation of the duty of forbearance, the duty would not be binding upon nations. But that which we require to be proved is this—that Christianity exonerates nations from those duties which she has imposed upon individuals. This,

the present argument does not prove; and, in truth, with a singular unhappiness in its application, it assumes, in effect, that she has imposed these duties upon neither the one nor the other.

If it be said that Christianity allows to individuals some degree and kind of resistance, and that some resistance is therefore lawful to states, we do not deny it. But if it be said that the degree of lawful resistance extends to the slaughter of our fellow-Christians—that it extends to war—we do deny it: We say that the rules of Christianity* cannot, by any possible latitude of interpretation, be made to extend to it. The duty of forbearance, then, is *antecedent* to all considerations respecting the political condition of man; and whether he be under the protection of laws or not, the duty of forbearance is imposed.

The only truth which appears to be elicited by the present argument, is, that the difficulty of obeying the forbearing rules of Christianity, is *greater* in the case of nations than in the case of individuals: *The obligation to obey them is the same in both.* Nor let any one urge the difficulty of obedience in opposition to the duty; for he who does this, has yet to learn one of the most awful rules of his religion—a rule that was enforced by the precepts, and more especially by the example, of Christ, of apostles and of martyrs, the rule which requires that we should be “obedient even unto death.”

It is not however to be inferred, that we believe the task of forbearance would be as difficult in practice as it appears to be in theory. Our interests are commonly promoted by the discharge of our duties, and we hope hereafter to demonstrate, that the practice of the duty of forbearance is not likely to form any exemption to this general result.

And, with respect to the second position—*That War is justified by expediency*, we shall quote the reasoning of one of its ablest advocates, Dr. Paley; and attempt to examine it by such principles as appear to us to be simple, sound, and christian.

“The *only* distinction,” says he, “that exists between the case

* When we speak of the Rules of Christianity, we refer not only to its express precepts, but to the duties which necessarily result from its moral principles—from the spirit and great characteristics of the whole system.

of independent states and independent individuals, is founded in this circumstance; that the particular consequence sometimes appears to exceed the value of the general rule;" or, in less technical words, that a greater disadvantage may arise from obeying the commands of Christianity, than from transgressing them. *Expediency*, it is said, is the test of moral rectitude, and the standard of our duty. If we believe that it will be most expedient to disregard the general obligations of Christianity, that belief is the justifying motive for disregarding them. Dr. Paley proceeds to say, "In the transactions of private persons, no advantage that results from the breach of a general law of justice, can compensate to the public for the violation of a law; in the concerns of empire this may sometimes be doubted." He says there may be cases in which the "magnitude of the particular evil induces us to call in question the obligation of the general rule."—"Situations may be feigned, and consequently may possibly arise, in which the general tendency is outweighed by the enormity of the particular mischief." Of the doubts which must arise as to the occasions when the "obligation" of christian laws ceases, he however says, that "moral philosophy furnishes no precise solution;" and he candidly acknowledges "the danger of leaving it to the sufferer to decide upon the comparison of particular and general consequences, and the still greater danger of such decisions being drawn into future precedents. If treaties, for instance, be no longer binding than while they are convenient, or until the inconveniency ascend to a certain point, (which point must be fixed by the judgment, or rather by the feelings of the complaining party,)—one, and almost the only method of averting or closing the calamities of war, of preventing or putting a stop to the destruction of mankind, is lost to the world for ever." And in retrospect of the indeterminateness of these rules of conduct, he says finally, "these however are the principles upon which the calculation is to be formed."* And thus does Dr. Paley indirectly admit the insufficiency of christian principles on occasions which most materially affect the happiness and welfare of mankind!!!

It is obvious that this reasoning proceeds upon the principle that it is lawful to do evil that good may come. If good will come by

* Moral and Political Philosophy, Chap. "Of War and Military Establishments."

violating a treaty, we may violate it.* If good will come by slaughtering other men, we may slaughter them. We know that the advocate of Expediency will tell us, that that is *not* evil of which good, in the aggregate, comes; and that the good or evil of actions *consists* in the good or evil of their general consequences.—We appeal to the understanding and the conscience of the reader—Is this distinction honest to the meaning of the apostle? Did he intend to tell his readers that they might violate their solemn promises, that they might destroy their fellow-christians, *in order that good might come*? If he did mean this, surely there was little truth in the declaration of the same apostle, *that he used great plainness of speech*.

We are told that “whatever is *expedient* is right.” We shall not quarrel with the dogma; but how is expediency to be determined? By the calculations and guessings of men, or by the knowledge and foresight of God? Expediency may be the test of our duties, but what is the test of expediency?—Obviously, we think, it is this; *the decisions which God has made known respecting what is best for man*. Calculations of Expediency, of “particular and general consequences,” are not intrusted to us, for this most satisfactory reason—that we cannot make them. The calculation, to be any thing better than vague guessing, requires prescience; and where is prescience to be sought? Now it is conceded by our opponents, that the only Possessor of prescience has declared that the forbearing, non-resisting character, *is best for man*.† Yet we are told that sometimes it is *not* best, that sometimes it is “inexpedient.” How do we discover this? The Promulgator of the law has never intimated it. Whence, then, do we derive the right of substituting our computations for his prescience? Or having obtained it, what is the limit to its exercise? If, because we calculate that obedience will not be beneficial, we may dispense with his laws in one instance, why may we not dispense with them in ten? Why may we not abrogate them altogether?

The right is however claimed; and how is it to be exercised?

* Moral and Political Philosophy, Chap. • Of War and Military Establishments.”

† An admirable illustration and defence of this truth will be found in another work of Dr. Paley's. See *Evidences of Christianity*, Part II. Chap. II.

We are told that the duty of obedience "may sometimes be doubted"—that in some cases we are induced to "*call in question*" the obligation of the christian rule that "*situations may be feigned,*" that circumstances "*may possibly arise,*" in which we are at liberty to dispense with it—that still it is dangerous to leave "it to the sufferer to decide" when the obligation of the rule ceases; and that of all these doubts "philosophy furnishes no precise solution!"—We know not how to contend against such principles as these. An argument might be repelled; the assertion of a fact might be disproved; but what answer can be made to "possibilities" and "doubts?" They who are at liberty to *guess* that christian laws may sometimes be suspended, are at liberty to guess that Jupiter is a fixed star, or that the existence of America is a fiction. What answer the man of science would make to such suppositions we do not know, and we do not know what answer to make to ours. Amongst a community which had to decide on the "particular and general consequences" of some political measure which involved the sacrifice of the principles of Christianity, there would of necessity be an endless variety of opinions. Some would think it *expedient* to supersede the law of Christianity, and some would think the evil of obeying the law, less than the evil of transgressing it. Some would think that the "particular mischief" outweighed the "general rule," and some that the "general rule" outweighed the "particular mischief." And in this chaos of opinion, what is the line of rectitude, or how is it to be discovered? Or is *that* rectitude which appears to each separate individual to be right? And are there as many species of truth, as there are discordancies of opinion?—Is *this* the simplicity of the Gospel? Is *this* the path in which a wayfaring man, though a fool, shall not err?

These are the principles of Expediency on which it is argued that the duties which attach to private life do not attach to citizens.—We think it will be obvious to the eye of candour, that they are exceedingly indeterminate and vague. Little more appears to be done by Dr. Paley than to exhibit their doubtfulness. In truth, we do not know whether he has argued better in favour of his position, or against it. To us it appears that he has evinced it to be fallacious; for we do not think that *any thing* can be Christian

Truth, which cannot be more distinctly proved. But whatever may be thought of the conclusion, the reader will certainly perceive that the whole question, as handled by Dr. Paley, is involved in extreme vagueness and indecision: an indecision and vagueness, which it is difficult to conceive that Christianity ever intended should be hung over the very greatest question of practical morality that man has to determine; over the question that asks whether the followers of Christ are at liberty to destroy one another. That war is, under any circumstances, sanctioned by Christianity, from whose principles it is acknowledged to be "abhorrent," ought to be clearly made out. It ought to be obvious at once. It ought not to be necessary to ascertaining it, that a critical investigation should be made, of questions which ordinary men cannot comprehend, and which, if they comprehended them, they could not determine; and, above all, that investigation ought not to end, as we have seen it does end, in vague indecision—in "doubts," of which even "philosophy furnishes no precise solution." But when this indecision and vagueness are brought to oppose the christian evidence for peace—when it is contended, not only that it militates against that evidence, but that it outbalances and supersedes it—we would say of such an argument that it is not only weak, but idle: of such a conclusion, that it is not only unsound, but preposterous.

That the pacific injunctions of the Christian Scriptures do apply to us under every circumstance of life, whether private or public, is evident from the universality of christian obligation. The language of Christianity, upon the obligation of her moral laws, is essentially this—"What I say unto you, I say unto all." The pacific laws of our religion, then, are binding upon all men; upon the King, and upon every individual who advises him, upon every member of a legislature, upon every officer and agent, and upon every private citizen. How then can *that* be lawful for a body of men which is unlawful for each individual? How, if one be disobedient, can his offence make disobedience lawful to all? We maintain yet more, and say, that to dismiss christian benevolence as subjects, and to retain it as individuals, is simply impossible. He who possesses that subjugation of the affections, and that universality of benevolence, by which he is influenced to do good to those who

hate him, and to love his enemies in private life, cannot, without abandoning those dispositions, kill other men because they are called public enemies.

The whole position, therefore, that the pacific commands and prohibitions of the Christian Scriptures do not apply to our conduct as subjects of a state, appears to be a fallacy. Some of the arguments which are brought to support it, so flippantly dispense with the principles of Christian Obligation, so gratuitously assume that because obedience may be difficult, obedience is not required, that they are rather an excuse for the distinction than a justification of it—and some are so lamentably vague and indeterminate, the principles which are proposed are so technical, so inapplicable to the circumstances of society, and in truth, so incapable of being practically applied, that it is not credible that they were designed to suspend the obligation of rules, which were imposed by a Revelation from Heaven.

We refer again to Dr. Paley. After the defensibility of War has been proved, or assumed, in the manner which we have exhibited, he states the occasions upon which he determines that wars become justifiable. "The objects of *just* war," says he, "are precaution, defence, or reparation."—"Every *just* war supposes an injury perpetrated, attempted, or feared.

We shall acknowledge, that if these be justifying motives to war, we see very little purpose in talking of morality upon the subject. It is in vain to expatiate on moral obligations, if we are at liberty to declare war whenever an "injury is feared." An injury, without limit to its insignificance! A fear, without stipulation for its reasonableness! The judges, also, of the reasonableness of fear, are to be they who are under its influence; and who so likely to judge amiss as those who are afraid? Dr. Paley himself has told us that "a man who has to reason about his duty when the temptation to transgress it is upon him, is almost sure to reason himself into an error." The necessity for this ill-timed reasoning, and the allowance of it, is amongst the capital objections to his philosophy. It tells us that a people may suspend the laws of God when they think it is "expedient;" and they are to judge of this expediency when the temptation to transgression is before them!—Has

Christianity left the lawfulness of human destruction to be determined upon such principles as these ?

Violence and rapine and ambition, are not to be restrained by morality like this. It may serve for the speculations of a study ; but we will venture to affirm that mankind will never be controlled by it. Moral rules are useless, if, from their own nature, they cannot be, or will not be applied.—Who believes that if kings and conquerors may fight when they have fears, they will not fight when they have them not ? The morality allows too much latitude to the passions, to retain any practical restraint upon them. And a morality that will not be practised, we had almost said, that cannot be practised, is an useless morality. It is a *theory* of morals. We want clearer and more exclusive rules ; we want more obvious and immediate sanctions. It were in vain for a philosopher to say to a general who was burning for glory, “you are at liberty to engage in the war, provided you have suffered, or fear you will suffer an injury ; otherwise Christianity prohibits it.”—He will tell him of twenty injuries that have been suffered, of a hundred that have been attempted, and of ten thousand that he fears. And what answer can the philosopher make to him ?

Perhaps some of those who may be willing to give a patient attention to other parts of our reasoning, will be disposed to withdraw it, when they hear the unlawfulness of defensive war unequivocally maintained. But it matters not ; our business is with what appears to us to be truth : if truth surprises the reader, we cannot help it—still it is truth.

Upon the question of defensive war, we would beg the reader to bear in his recollection, that every feeling of his nature is enlisted against us ; and we would beg him, knowing this, to attain as complete an abstraction from the influence of those feelings as shall be in his power. This he will do, if he is honest in the inquiry for truth. It is not necessary to conceal that the principles which we maintain may sometimes demand the sacrifice of our apparent interests. Such sacrifices Christianity has been wont to require : they are the tests of our fidelity ; and among our readers we believe some will be found, who, if they can be assured that we speak the language of Christianity, will require no other inducement to obedience.

The lawfulness of defensive war, is commonly simplified to *the right of self-defence*. This is one of the strong-holds of the defender of war, the almost final fastness to which he retires. *The instinct of self-preservation*, it is said, *is an instinct of nature; and therefore whatever is necessary to self-preservation, is accordant with the will of God*. This is specious, but, like many other specious arguments, it is sound in its premises, but, as we think, fallacious in its conclusions. That the instinct of self-preservation is an instinct of nature, is clear—that, because it is an instinct of nature, we have a right to kill other men, is *not* clear.

The fallacy of the whole argument appears to consist in this,—that it assumes that an instinct of our animal nature is a law of *paramount* authority. On the contrary, Christianity requires of us that we restrain and keep under subjection to its precepts our natural instincts or propensities; for he who will be at the trouble of making the inquiry, will find that a regulation of these instincts, and a restriction of their exercise, is a prominent object of the Christian morality; and we think it is plain that this regulation and restriction apply to the instinct before us. “If any man will be my disciple,” says Christ, “let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me; for whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.” Matt. xvi. 24, 25. See also Matt. x. 37 to 39. We do not maintain that any natural instinct is to be eradicated, but that all of them are to be regulated and restrained; and we maintain this of the instinct of self-preservation.

What, indeed, are the dispositions and actions to which the instinct of self-preservation too often prompts, but actions and dispositions which Christianity forbids? They are non-forbearance, resistance, retaliation of injuries. The truth is, that it is to the principle of *defence* that the peaceable precepts of Christianity are directed. The principle of *offence* appears not to have even suggested itself. It is “resist not *evil*,” it is “overcome *evil* with good;” it is “do good to them that *hate* you;” it is “love your *enemies*,” it is “render not evil for *evil*,” it is “Whoso *smiteth thee on one cheek*.” All this supposes previous offence, or injury, or violence; and it is *then* that forbearance is enjoined.

“The chief aim,” says a judicious author, “of those who argue in

behalf of defensive war, is directed *at the passions*;"* and accordingly, the case of an assassin will doubtless be brought against us. We shall be asked—suppose a ruffian breaks into your house, and rushes into your room with his arm lifted to murder you; do you not believe that Christianity allows you to kill him? This is the last refuge of the cause: our answer to it is explicit—*We do not believe it.*†

We have referred to this utmost possible extremity, because we are willing to meet objections of whatever nature, and because, by stating this, which is enforced by all our prejudices and all our instincts, we shall at least shew that we give to those who differ from us a fair, an open, and a candid recognition of all the consequences of our principles. We would however beg the same candour of the reader, and remind him, that were they unable to abide this test, the case of the ruffian has little practical reference to war. We remind him of this, not because we doubt whether our principles can be supported, but because, if he should think that in this case we do not support them, he will yet recollect that very few wars are proved to be lawful. Of the wars which are prosecuted, some are simply wars of aggression; some are for the maintenance of a balance of power; some are in assertion of technical rights, and some, undoubtedly, to repel invasion. The last are perhaps the fewest; and of these only it can be said that they bear any analogy whatever to the case which is supposed; and even in these, the analogy is seldom complete. It has rarely indeed happened that wars have been undertaken simply for the preservation of life, and that no other alternative has remained to a people, than to kill, or to be killed. And let it be remembered,

* The Lawfulness of Defensive War impartially considered, by a Member of the Church of England.

† The reader will not suppose that when we maintain that the temper and spirit of Christianity require us not to kill an assassin, we assert that *no resistance* ought to be made to him. Although every attempt to specify the precise nature and degree of lawful resistance would probably be vain, yet we are ready to allow that some species of self-defence are lawful, and indeed obligatory. A man may expostulate with an assassin—he may disarm him—these, and many other similar things he may do, and in doing them he would, doubtless, not only consult his own preservation, but he would be performing an act of very great benevolence towards the aggressor.

that *unless this alternative only remains*, the case of the ruffian is irrelevant; it applies not, practically, to the subject.

We do not know what those persons mean, who say, that we are authorised to kill an assassin by *the law of nature*. Principles like this, heedlessly assumed as of self-evident truth, are often the starting-post of our errors; the point of divergency from rectitude, from which our after obliquities proceed. Some men seem to talk of the laws of nature, as if nature were a legislatrix who had sat and framed laws for the government of mankind. Nature makes no laws. A law implies a legislator; and there is no legislator upon the principles of human duty, but God. If, by the "law of nature," is meant any thing of which the sanctions or obligations are *different* from those of Revelation, it is obvious that we have set up a moral system of our own, and in opposition to that which has been established by Heaven. If we mean by the "law of nature," nothing but that which is *accordant* with Revelation, to what purpose do we refer to it at all? We do not suppose that any sober moralist will stately advance the laws of nature in opposition to the laws of God: but we think that to advance them *at all*—that to refer to *any* principle or law, in determination of our duty, irrespectively of the simple will of God, is always dangerous; for there will be many, who, when they are referred for direction to such law or principle, will regard it, in their practice, as a *final* standard of truth. We believe that a reference to the laws of nature has seldom illustrated our duties, and never induced us to perform them; and that it has hitherto answered little other purpose than that of amusing the lovers of philosophical morality.

The mode of proving, or of stating, the right to kill an assassin, is this:—"There is one case in which all extremities are justifiable; namely, when our life is assaulted, and it becomes necessary for our preservation to kill the assailant. This is evident in a state of nature; unless it can be shewn that we are bound to prefer the aggressor's life to our own; that is to say, to love our enemy *better* than ourselves, which can never be a debt of justice, nor any where appears to be a duty of charity."* If we were disposed to hold argumentation like this, we would say, that although we

* Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy.

may not be required to love our enemies *better* than ourselves, we are required to love them *as* ourselves, and that in the supposed case, it still would be a question equally balanced, which life ought to be sacrificed; for it is quite clear that if we kill the assailant, we love him *less* than ourselves, which may, perhaps, militate a little against "a duty of charity." But the truth is, that the question is not whether we should love our enemy better than ourselves, but whether we should sacrifice the laws of Christianity in order to preserve our lives—whether we should prefer the interests of religion to our own—whether we should be willing to "lose our life for Christ's sake and the gospel's."

This system of *counter-crime* is of very loose tendency. The assailant violates his duties by attempting to kill me, and I, therefore, am to violate mine by actually killing him. Is his meditated crime then, a justification of my perpetrated crime? In the case of a condemned Christian martyr, who was about to be led to the stake, it is supposable, that by having contrived a mine, he may preserve his life by suddenly firing it and blowing his persecutors into the air. Would Christianity justify the act? Or what should we say of him if he committed it? We should say that whatever his *faith* might be, his *practice* was very unsound; that he might profess to *believe* the gospel, but that he certainly did not fulfil its duties. Now we contend, that for all the purposes of the argument, the cases of the martyr and the assaulted person are precisely similar. He who was about to be led to the stake, and he who was about to lose his life by the assassin, are both required to regulate their conduct by the same laws, and are both to be prepared to offer up their lives in testimony of their allegiance to Christianity; the one in allegiance to her, in opposition to the violation of her moral principles and her moral spirit; and the other, in opposition to errors in belief or to ecclesiastical corruptions. It is therefore in vain to argue that the victims of persecution would have suffered for religion's sake, for so also would the victim of the ruffian. There is nothing in the sanctions of Christianity, which implies that obedience to her moral law is of less consequence than an adherence to her faith; nor as it respects the welfare of the world, does the consequence appear to be less; for he who, by his fidelity to Christianity, promotes the diffusion of Christian dispositions and of

peace, contributes, perhaps, as much to the happiness of mankind, as he, who by the same fidelity, recommends the acceptance of an accurate creed.

The reader is especially requested to consider, that if Christianity allows us to kill one another in self-defence, she allows *war*, without restriction to self-defence. Let us try what would have been the result if the christian Scriptures had thus placed human life at our disposal: suppose they had said—*You may kill a ruffian in your own defence, but you may not enter into a defensive war.* The prohibition would admit, not of *some* exceptions to its application—the exceptions would be so many, that no prohibition would be left; because there is no practical limit to the right of self-defence, until we arrive at defensive war. If one man may kill one, two may kill two, and ten may kill ten, and an army may kill an army:—and this is defensive *war*. Supposing again, the christian Scriptures had said, *An army may fight in its own defence, but not for any other purpose*:—We do not say that the exceptions to *this* rule would be so many as wholly to nullify the rule itself; but we say that whoever will attempt to apply it in practice, will find that he has a very wide range of justifiable warfare; a range that will embrace many more wars than moralists, laxer than we shall suppose him to be, are willing to defend. If an army may fight in defence of their own lives, they may, and they must fight in defence of the lives of others: If they may fight in defence of the lives of others, they will fight in defence of their property: If in defence of property, they will fight in defence of political rights: If in defence of rights, they will fight in promotion of interests: If in promotion of interests, they will fight in promotion of their glory and their crimes. Now let any man of honesty look over the gradations by which we arrive at this climax, and we believe he will find that, *in practice*, no curb can be placed upon the conduct of an army until they reach it. There is, indeed, a wide distance between fighting in defence of life, and fighting in furtherance of our crimes; but the steps which lead from one to the other will follow in *inevitable* succession. We know that the letter of the supposed rule excludes it, but we know that such a rule would be a letter only. It is very easy for us to sit in our studies, and to point the commas, and semicolons, and periods of the soldier's career; it is very easy for us to say he

shall stop at defence of life, or at protection of property, or at the support of rights ; but armies will never listen to us—we shall be only the Xerxes of mortality throwing our idle chains into the tempestuous ocean of human slaughter.

What is the testimony of experience ? When nations are mutually exasperated, and armies are levied, and battles are fought, does not every one know that with whatever motives of defence one party may have begun the contest, both in turn become aggressors ? In the fury of slaughter, soldiers do not attend, they cannot attend, to questions of aggression. Their business is destruction, and their business they will perform. If the army of defence obtains success, it soon becomes an army of aggression. Having repelled the invader, it begins to punish him. If a war is once begun, it is vain to think of distinctions of aggression and defence. Moralists may talk of distinctions, but soldiers will *make* none ; and none can be made : it is without the limits of possibility.

But indeed, what is defensive war ? A celebrated moralist defines it to be, war, undertaken in consequence of "*an injury* perpetrated, attempted, or feared ;*" which shows with sufficient clearness, how little *the assassin* concerns the question, for fear respecting life does not enter into the calculation of "*injuries*." So then, if we fear some injury to our purses, or to our "*honour*," we are allowed to send an army to the country that gives us fear, and to slaughter its inhabitants ; and this, we are told, is defensive war. By this system of reasoning, which has been happily called "*martial logic*," there will be little difficulty in proving any war to be defensive. Now we say that if Christianity allows defensive war, she allows all war—except indeed that of simple aggression ; and by the rules of this morality, the aggressor is difficult of discovery ; for he whom we choose to "*fear*," may say that he had previous "*fear*" of us, and that his "*fear*" prompted the hostile symptoms which made us "*fear*" again.—The truth is, that to attempt to make any distinctions upon the subject, is vain. War must be wholly forbidden, or allowed, without restriction to defence ; for no definitions of lawful and unlawful war, will be, or can be, attended to. If the

* We again quote the words of Dr Paley in his Chapter on "War and Military Establishments."

principles of Christianity, in any case, or for any purpose, allow armies to meet and to slaughter one another, her principles will never conduct us to the period which prophecy has assured us they shall produce. There is no hope of an eradication of war but by an absolute and total abandonment of it.

What then is the principle for which we contend? *An unreasoning reliance upon Providence for defence in all those cases in which we should violate His laws by defending ourselves.* The principle can claim a species of merit, which must at least be denied to some systems of morality—that of simplicity, of easiness of apprehension, of adaptation to every understanding, of applicability to every circumstance of life.

If a wisdom which we acknowledge to be unerring, has determined and declared that any given conduct is right, and that it is good for man, it appears preposterous and irreverent to argue that another can be better. The Almighty certainly *knows* our interests; He has declared that they are promoted by the observance of his pacific laws; and if, therefore, he has not directed us in the path which promotes them, the conclusion is inevitable, that he has voluntarily directed us amiss.—Will the advocate of war abide this conclusion? And if he will not, how will he avoid the opposite conclusion, that the path of forbearance is the path of expediency?

It would seem to be a position of very simple truth, that it becomes an *erring* being, to regulate his actions by an acquiescent reference to an unerring will. That it is necessary for any of these erring beings, formally to insist upon this truth, and systematically to prove it to their fellows, may reasonably be a subject of grief and of shame. But the hardihood of guilt denies the truth, and the speculativeness of philosophy practically supersedes it;—and the necessity therefore remains.

Seeing that the duties of the religion which God has imparted to mankind require non-resistance, it surely is reasonable to believe, even without a reference to experience, that he will make our non-resistance subservient to our interests—that if, for the purpose of conforming to his will, we subject ourselves to difficulty or danger, he will protect us in our obedience, and direct it to our benefit—that if he requires us not to engage in war, he will

preserve us in peace—that he will not desert those who have no other protection, and who have abandoned all other protection, because they confide in His alone.

And if we refer to experience, we shall find that the reasonableness of this confidence is confirmed. There have been thousands who have confided in heaven, in opposition to all their apparent interests : but of these thousands, has any one eventually said, that he repented his confidence, or that he reposed it in vain ? —And if we choose to exclude all reference to futurity in the contemplation of our interests, we believe it will be found that even in relation only to the present state of existence, the testimony of *experience* is, that forbearance is most conducive to them.

Integer vitæ scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauri jaculis neque arcu,
Nec venenatis gravidâ sagittis,
Fusce, pharetrâ.

And the same truth is delivered by much higher authority than that of Horace, and in much stronger language ;—" If a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his *enemies to be at peace with him.*"

The reader of American history will recollect that in the beginning of the last century, a desultory and most dreadful warfare was carried on by the natives against the European settlers ;—a warfare that was provoked, as such warfare has almost always originally been, by the injuries and violence of *Christians!!!* The mode of destruction was secret and sudden. The barbarians sometimes laid in wait for those who might come within their reach on the highway or in the fields, and shot them without warning ; and sometimes they attacked the Europeans in their houses, " scalping some, and knocking out the brains of others." From this horrible warfare, the inhabitants sought safety by abandoning their homes, and retiring to fortified places, or to the neighbourhood of garrisons : and those whom necessity still compelled to pass beyond the limits of such protection, provided themselves with arms for their defence. But amidst this desolation and universal terror, the *Society of Friends*, who were a considerable proportion of the whole population, were stedfast to their principles.

They would neither retire to garrisons, nor provide themselves with arms. They remained openly in the country, whilst the rest were flying to the forts. They still pursued their occupations in the fields or at their homes, without a weapon either for annoyance or defence. And what was their fate? They lived in security and quiet. The habitation, which, to his armed neighbour, was the scene of murder and of the scalping knife, was to the unarmed Quaker a place of safety and of peace.

Three of the Society were, however, killed. And who were they? They were three who abandoned their principles. Two of these victims were men, who, in the simple language of the narrator, "used to go to their labour without any weapons, and trusted to the Almighty, and depended on His providence to protect them; (it being their principle not to use weapons of war to offend others or to defend themselves); *but a spirit of distrust* taking place in their minds, they took weapons of war to defend themselves; and the Indians, who had seen them several times without them and let them alone, saying they were peaceable men and hurt nobody, therefore they would not hurt them,—now seeing them have guns, and supposing they designed to kill the Indians, they therefore shot the men dead."—The third whose life was sacrificed, was a woman, who "had remained in her habitation," not thinking herself warranted in going "to a fortified place for preservation, neither she, her son, nor daughter, nor to take thither the little ones; but the poor woman after some time began to let in a slavish fear, and advised her children to go with her to a fort not far from their dwelling." She went; and shortly afterwards "the bloody, cruel Indians, lay by the way, and killed her."*

* See "Select Anecdotes, &c. by John Barclay," p. 71—79. In this little volume, we have found some illustrations of the *policy* of the principles which we maintain in the case of personal attack. Barclay, the celebrated apologist, was attacked by a highwayman. He made no other resistance than a calm expostulation. The felon dropped his presented pistol, and offered no farther violence. A Leonard Fell was assaulted by a highway robber, who plundered him of his money and his horse, and afterwards threatened to blow out his brains. Fell solemnly spoke to the robber on the wickedness of his life. The man was astonished:—he declared he would take neither his money nor his horse, and returned

The fate of the Quakers during the rebellion in Ireland was nearly similar. It is well known that the rebellion was a time not only of open war, but of cold-blooded murder. Yet the Quakers were preserved in a very remarkable manner. Strangers passing by their houses and seeing them uninjured, with ruins on either hand, would frequently, without knowing to whom they belonged, say that they were Quakers' houses.*

It were to no purpose to say, in opposition to the evidence of these facts, that they form an exception to a general rule.—The exception to the rule consists in the *trial* of the experiment of non-resistance, not in its *success*. Neither were it to any purpose to say that the savages of America, or the contending parties in Ireland, spared the Quakers because they were *previously* known to be an unoffending people, or because the Quakers had *previously* gained the love of these by forbearance or good offices: we concede all this; it is the very argument which we maintain. We say, that an *uniform, undeviating* regard to the peaceable obligations of Christianity, *becomes the safeguard of those who practise it*. We venture to maintain that no reason whatever can be assigned, why the fate of the Quakers would not be the fate of *all* who, relying on the protection of "The Prince of Peace," should adopt their conduct. No reason can be assigned why, if their number had been multiplied ten-fold or a hundred-fold, they would not have been preserved. If there be such a reason, let us hear it. The American and Irish Quakers were, to the rest of the community, what one nation is to a continent. And we must require the advocate of war to produce (that which has never yet been produced) a reason for believing, that although individuals exposed to destruction were preserved, a nation exposed to destruction would be destroyed. We do not, however, say, that if a people, in the customary state of men's passions, should be assailed by an invader, and should, on a sudden, choose to declare that they would try whether Providence

them both.—"If thine enemy hunger, feed him,—for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head."

* The preservation of the Moravians, too, whose conduct was pacific, was exceedingly remarkable.

would protect them—of such a people, we do not say that they would experience protection, and that none of them would be killed. But we say that the evidence of experience is, that a people who habitually regard the obligations of Christianity in their conduct towards other men, and who stedfastly refuse, regardless of consequences, to engage in acts of hostility, *do experience protection in their peacefulness*: and it matters nothing to the argument, whether we refer that protection to the immediate agency of Providence, or to the influence of such conduct upon the minds of men.

Such has been the experience of the unoffending and unresisting, in individual life. A *national* example of a refusal to bear arms, has only once been exhibited to the world: but that one example has proved, so far as its political circumstances enabled it, all that humanity could desire, and all that scepticism could demand, in favour of our argument.

It has been the ordinary practice of those who have colonized distant countries, to force a footing, or to maintain it with the sword. One of the first objects has been to build a fort, and to provide a military force. The adventurers became soldiers, and the colony a garrison. Pennsylvania was, however, colonized by men who believed that war was absolutely incompatible with Christianity, and who, therefore, resolved not to practise it. Having determined not to fight, they maintained no soldiers, and possessed no arms. They planted themselves in a country that was surrounded by savages, and by savages who knew they were unarmed. If easiness of conquest, or incapability of defence, could subject them to outrage, the Pennsylvanians might have been the very sport of violence. Plunderers might have robbed them without retaliation, and armies might have slaughtered them without resistance. If they did not give a temptation to outrage, no temptation could be given. But these were the people who possessed their country in security, whilst those around them were trembling for their existence. This was a land of peace, whilst every other was a land of war. The conclusion is inevitable, although it is extraordinary—they wanted not arms, *because they would not use them*.

These Indians were sufficiently ready to commit outrages upon

other states, and often visited them with desolation and slaughter; with that sort of desolation, and that sort of slaughter, which might be expected from men whom civilization had not reclaimed from cruelty, and whom religion had not awed into forbearance. "But whatever the quarrels of the Pennsylvanian Indians were with others, they uniformly respected, and held as it were sacred, the territories of William Penn."* "The Pennsylvanians never lost man, woman, or child, by them, which neither the colony of Maryland, nor that of Virginia, could say, no more than the great colony of New England.†

The security and quiet of Pennsylvania was not a transient freedom from war, such as might accidentally happen to any nation. She continued to enjoy it "for more than seventy years,"‡ and "subsisted in the midst of six Indian nations, without so much as a militia for her defence."§ "The Pennsylvanians became armed, though without arms; they became strong, though without strength; they became safe, without the ordinary means of safety. The constable's staff was the only instrument of authority amongst them for the greater part of a century; and never, during the administration of Penn, or that of his proper successors, was there a quarrel or a war."||

We cannot wonder that these people were not molested—extraordinary and unexampled as their security was. There is something so noble in this perfect confidence in the Supreme Protector, in this utter exclusion of "slavish fear," in this voluntary relinquishment of the means of injury or defence, that we do not wonder that even ferocity could be disarmed by such virtue. A people, generously living without arms, amidst nations of warriors! Who would attack a people such as this? There are few men so abandoned as not to respect such confidence. It were a peculiar and an unusual intensity of wickedness that would not even revere it.

And when was the security of Pennsylvania molested, and its peace destroyed?—When the men who had directed its counsels, and *who would not engage in war, were outvoted in its legislature*:—when *they, who supposed that there was greater security in*

* Clarkson.

† Oldmixon, Anno 1708.

‡ Proud.

§ Oldmixon.

|| Clarkson, Life of Penn

the sword than in Christianity, became the predominating body. From that hour, the Pennsylvanians transferred their confidence in christian principles, to a confidence in their arms; and from that hour to the present they have been subject to war.

Such is the evidence, derived from a national example, of the consequences of a pursuit of the christian policy in relation to war. Here are a people who absolutely refused to fight, and who incapacitated themselves for resistance by refusing to possess arms; and these are the people whose land, amidst surrounding broils and slaughter, was selected as a land of security and peace. The only national opportunity which the virtue of the christian world has afforded us, of ascertaining the safety of relying upon God for defence, has determined that it is safe.

If the evidence which we possess do not satisfy us of the safety of confiding in God, what evidence do we ask, or what can we receive? We have his promise that he will protect those who abandon their seeming interests in the performance of his will, and we have the testimony of those who have confided in him, that he has protected them. Can the advocate of war produce one single instance in the history of man, of a person who had given an unconditional obedience to the will of heaven, and who did not find that his conduct was *wise* as well as virtuous, that it accorded with his *interests* as well as with his duty? We ask the same question in relation to the peculiar obligations to non-resistance. Where is the man who regrets that, in observance of the forbearing duties of Christianity, he consigned his preservation to the superintendence of God? And the solitary national example that is before us, confirms the testimony of private life; for there is sufficient reason for believing that no nation, in modern ages, has possessed so large a portion of virtue or of happiness, as Pennsylvania before it had seen human blood. We would therefore repeat the question—what evidence do we ask, or can we receive?

This is the point from which we wander. —WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD. When this statement is formally made to us, we think, perhaps, that it is not true; but our practice is an evidence of its truth—for if we did believe, we should also *confide* in it, and should be willing to stake upon it the consequences of our

obedience.* We can talk with sufficient fluency of "trusting in providence," but in the application of it to our conduct in life, we know wonderfully little. Who is it that confides in Divine providence, and for what does he trust Him? Does his confidence induce him to set aside his own views of interest and safety, and simply to obey precepts which appear inexpedient and unsafe? This is the confidence that is of value, and of which so little is known. There are many who believe that war is disallowed by Christianity, and who would rejoice that it were for ever abolished, but there are few who are willing to maintain an undaunted and unyielding stand against it. They can talk of the loveliness of peace, aye, and argue against the lawfulness of war; but when difficulty or suffering would be the consequence, they will not refuse to do what they know to be unlawful, they will not practise the peacefulness which they say they admire. Those, who are ready to sustain the consequences of undeviating obedience, are the supporters of whom Christianity stands in need. She wants men who are willing to *suffer* for her principles.

It is necessary for us to know by what principles we are governed. Are we regulated by the injunctions of God, or are we not? If there be any lesson of morality which it is of importance to mankind to learn, and if there be any which they have not yet learnt, it is the necessity of simply performing the duties of Christianity without reference to consequences. If we could persuade ourselves to do this, we should certainly pass life with greater consistency of conduct, and, as we firmly believe, in greater enjoyment and greater peace. The world has had many examples of such fidelity and confidence. Who have been the christian martyrs of all ages, but men who maintained their fidelity to Christianity regardless of consequences? *They* were faithful to the christian creed; *we* ought to be faithful to the christian morality; without morality the profession of a creed is vain. Nay, we have seen that there have been martyrs to the duties of morality, and to these very

* "The dread of being destroyed by our enemies if we do not go to war with them, is a plain and unequivocal proof of our disbelief in the superintendence of Divine Providence." *The Lawfulness of Defensive War impartially considered; by a Clergyman of the Church of England.*

duties of *peacefulness*. The duties remain the same, but where is our obedience?

We hope, for the sake of his understanding and his heart, that the reader will not say we reason on the supposition that the world was, what it is not; and that, although these duties may be binding upon us when the world shall become purer, we must now accommodate ourselves to the state of things as they are. This is to say, that, in a land of assassins, assassination would be right. If no one begins to reform his practice, until others have begun before him, reformation will never be begun. If apostles, or martyrs, or reformers, had "accommodated themselves to the existing state of things," where had now been Christianity? The business of reformation belongs to him who sees that reformation is required. The world has no other human means of amendment. If you believe that war is not allowed by Christianity, it is your business to act consistently with such belief; and if fear or distrust should raise questions on the consequences, or, if you seek to know why some others differ in their views or conduct, apply the words of the Saviour—"what is that to thee?—follow thou Me."

Our great misfortune in the examination of the duties of Christianity, is, that we do not contemplate them with sufficient simplicity. We do not estimate them without some addition or abatement of our own; there is almost always some intervening medium. A sort of half-transparent glass is hung before each individual, which possesses various shades of colour, and presents objects with endless varieties of distortion. This glass is coloured by our education and our passions. The perfection of moral culture is to remove it from before us; for then, and only then, we see the duties of Christianity as they are. *Simple obedience without reference to consequences*, is our great duty. We know that philosophers have told us otherwise: we know that we have been referred, for the determination of our duties, to calculations of expediency and of the future consequences of our actions:—but we believe that in whatever degree this philosophy directs us to forbear an unconditional obedience to the rules of our religion, it will be found, that when Christianity shall advance in her purity and her power, she will sweep it from the earth with the besom of destruction. For God has promised that "they shall not hurt nor destroy in all His holy mountain." That a

period like this will come, we are not able to doubt: we believe it, because it is not credible that He will always endure the destruction of man by man; because he has declared that he will not endure it; and because we think there is a perceptible approach of that period in which he will say, "It is enough."* In this belief we rejoice: we rejoice that the number is increasing of those who are asking "shall the sword devour for ever?" and of those who, whatever be the opinions or the practice of others, are openly saying, "I am for peace."†

* 2 Sam. xiv. 16

† Psalm cxx. 7

Tract No. VIII. of the Society for the Promotion
of Permanent and Universal Peace.

AN

EXAMINATION

OF THE

PRINCIPLES

WHICH ARE CONSIDERED TO SUPPORT

THE PRACTICE OF WAR.

BY A LADY.

O glory, glory!—mighty one on earth—
How many a wond'ring eye is turned to thee,
In admiration lost. Short-sighted men!
Thy furious wave gives no fertility—
Thy waters, hurrying fiercely o'er the plain,
Bring nought but desolation and distress,
And leave the flowery vale a wilderness."

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The following Essay first made its appearance in "The Herald of Peace," for the year 1823, Vol. II. pp. 84 & 142, of the New Series of that work. The cogency of its arguments, and the instructive and interesting facts by which they are illustrated, have induced the Committee of the Peace Society, with the permission of the Author, to adopt it as one of their Tracts. It is an additional gratification that they are enabled in this Essay to present the Public with the literary labours of a female pen. The retiring and unobtrusive character of the sex does not prohibit them from employing their literary talents in the exposure and condemnation of practices which are subversive of the social and domestic virtues. And may they be encouraged to exert the powerful influence they possess in favour of the Christian charities and graces, which are, at the same time, the protection and the ornament of Woman.

August, 1825.



AN EXAMINATION, &c.

WHEN we retrace the history of Man, from the savage to the civilized state, we see him at first the slave of corporeal wants, and scarcely conscious of the possession of reflective powers, gradually emerging from the obscurity of ignorance and barbarism, and exerting his newly awakened faculties in the discovery of truths which tend to raise him to the dignity of an intellectual being. We see the inventive arts, originally confined to the manufacture of the simplest necessities, elevated, by the combined force of genius and industry, till they contribute to the production of all that can gratify or enlighten humanity. We contemplate the mind of man—once barren as the desert heath, over which he roamed in search of food—adorned by the culture of succeeding generations, and become capable of comprehending within its limits a vast extent of knowledge; penetrating into the mysterious operations of nature, measuring the distances of the heavenly bodies, and raising its speculations beyond the boundaries of visible existence, to the regions of infinity. We rejoice in tracing the development of mental energies,—we seem to behold human nature emulating the perfection of a superior order of beings, and we exult in the name of Man. But while we would fain indulge without restraint the pleasing emotions of admiration of the past, and hope for the future, our attention is painfully and irresistibly attracted by one gloomy cloud, that overshadows the picture—one dark thread interwoven throughout the varied tissue of history—one deep and bloody stain, that pervades the whole current of human affairs. Yes, the Savage has forsaken his abode in the rocks—temples and palaces have arisen on the ruins of hovels—the day-

spring of religious truth has dispersed the shades of superstition ;—but throughout each changing scene—beneath the pure sun-beams of gospel light, as amidst the thick darkness of paganism,—in every age and in every clime, WAR has maintained her desolating empire over mankind. The sage, the patriot, and the philosopher, far from repressing, have united in extending her wide-spreading sway : Poetry has consecrated the harp to her praise ;—Glory has entwined with her choicest wreaths the blood-stained brow of the destroyer ;—she has seized the mask of liberty—profaned the name of religion, and amidst the general shout of triumph, feeble and unregarded have been the efforts of those few who have raised their opposing voice against the common delusion,—who have sought to snatch from the victor his ill-earned meed of applause,—who have dared to deny that man has an absolute unalienable right of inflicting misery and death on his fellow-man.

So universally prevalent has been the opinion, that an appeal to the sword is both an effectual and justifiable method of deciding controversies between nations ; so extensively has this idea influenced the tenour of human institutions, pervaded the whole mass of literature, and interwoven itself with the deeply-rooted prejudices of education, that an attempt to prove the entire system to be founded in error and delusion, incurs the risk of being classed among the schemes of the weak, though benevolent visionary. Yet if the impartial observer of mankind were asked, What practice has given birth to the greatest share of unmixed evil ? he would answer—War. Or were he asked, What custom is the most degrading to the character of a man, and the most directly repugnant to the spirit of a religion professed by a majority of the civilized world ? he would still answer—War. Indeed, that the practice of mutual slaughter should ever for one moment have been deemed compatible with the doctrines of peace and harmony, might well excite his unmingled surprise. The unenlightened judgment is too apt to follow the leading of passion ; fixed habits of feeling and action are not easily broken through ; he would not therefore wonder to see the untaught savage rushing with blind fury against his brother ; he would not start with astonishment when he beheld the heathen, who devotes his children in flames to the infernal deities, scattering death and terror around him, and triumphing with fiend-like exultation in the havoc he has committed. *Their* conduct might be excusable ; it would be the natural result of

previous association ; but could he have conceived that a people styling themselves followers of the Prince of Peace, should sanction by their authority and example, the atrocious practice of immolating human victims at the shrine of policy or ambition ? a practice, which to the Christian, who pretends to make Revelation alone the standard of his conduct, is so positively forbidden, that to convince him of its enormity, it might be thought sufficient to refer him to that standard. The Scripture evidences on this point appear so clear and indisputable, that had we not seen the various denominations of Christians, with few exceptions, united in despising or evading their force, we might fancy it superfluous to offer them to the attention of the professed believer. The advent of the long-expected Redeemer was announced with the emphatic declaration of "Peace on earth,"—that peace which, finding no place in the sanguinary code of pagan morality, it was one leading object of his heavenly mission to introduce. He taught that the mortal state of man is but the infancy of his existence ; that he is sent into this world not to revel in any gratifications the world can afford, but by the exercise of self-denying vigilance, and the participation of heavenly grace, to prepare for an entrance into mansions of eternal bliss, or, by their neglect to plunge into irremediable ruin. To him who habitually contemplates these impressive truths, early allurements have lost their charm, terrestrial power is contemptible ; and it was thus by lowering the value of those objects which have excited the bitterest contests among men, that our divine Instructor sought to exterminate the seeds of dissension. In conformity with these principles, is the direct prohibition of every wanton aggression upon the rights of another, every attempt at selfish aggrandizement by the violation of another's interest.

And if the authority of Scripture be admitted as conclusive against the sophistry of Ambition, not less unequivocal surely are those passages which deny the assumed lawfulness of revenge. Under a former dispensation, indeed, God had allowed to the weakness of mankind, perhaps in order to teach them more effectually the measure of justice due from each one to his neighbour, a certain limited right of retaliation. He had permitted them in specified instances to demand "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." But the Author of our faith expressly abrogated that dispensation, given only to prepare the way for a purer and more spiritual doctrine. He commands his disciples not only to abstain from resisting evil,

but to forgive the trespasses of others, even as they hope to be themselves forgiven : not only to refrain from cursing, but to bless their enemies ; not only to bless, but to cherish towards them those affections of sympathy and benevolence to which Christianity applies, in its highest and holiest sense, the appellation of love.

Let us pause a moment for reflection, and seriously inquire whether it be possible to evade the obligation of these precepts, but by a process that would tend to annul the authority of all revealed religion. Is it possible that any one who firmly believes the divine origin of Christianity, can hesitate in acknowledging every deed of violence towards man to be an act of rebellion against God ? Or will it be alleged that those doctrines which prohibit the resentment of private injuries, are inapplicable to the case of public wrongs ? What ! does the law forbid the murder of an individual, and does it license the murder of thousands ? Does it bar the indulgence of angry passions against an offending neighbour, and does it authorise feelings of hatred, deeds of cruelty towards unoffending multitudes ? Or, can public authority alter the nature of right and wrong ? Surely no man can possess practically the principle of loving his enemy, but he must love him under all circumstances. But who can love an enemy and kill him ?”*

Again, while we observe the life of our holy exemplar, (remembering that “ If any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his,”) let us impartially consider whether it is conceivable that HE should by any circumstances have been induced to employ the weapons of earthly warfare. Or, perhaps, the dreadful inconsistency between the military spirit and the spirit of Christianity may be brought more immediately home to our bosoms, if we compare the dispositions produced in the mind of man by the influence of piety, with the temper that animates him to the work of destruction. Behold him prostrate at the footstool of infinite mercy, seeking pardon for unnumbered transgressions, and pouring forth his earnest prayer for the universal prevalence of holiness and charity : hear him, while arising from the posture of humble supplication, imprecate vengeance upon his fellow-sinners ; or, seizing the instruments of death, see him rush into the field of battle, burning with ardent desire to precipitate hundreds of his brethren into the presence of their all-righteous Judge, before whose awfully strict tribunal he will most assuredly be

summoned, and where, face to face with his murdered foe, he will be called upon to render an account for the blood he has spilt. Oh! Christian, if you be indeed a disciple of Jesus, not in word only, but in truth and sincerity, lay your hand upon your heart, and say whether these things ought to be. Say whether it is possible that the all-gracious Father should contemplate with approbation the mutual destruction of his creatures, children of the same providence, heirs of the same salvation. Explain if you are able with what consistency the warrior can intreat to be delivered from temptation, or pray that the will of God be done on earth as it is in heaven. But if you cannot explain these things, then acknowledge that the spirit of Christ and the spirit of war are utterly and for ever irreconcilable.

There are many, however, who, relinquishing, upon scripture grounds, the right of retaliation, yet maintain that *defensive* war is not only in itself just and necessary, but absolutely unavoidable. To this it might be sufficient to reply, that if the requisitions of the Gospel be without restriction, our obedience must also be unconditional. We are not at liberty to forsake the straight path of duty upon motives of imagined expediency. We must not do evil that good may come. The most effectual defence, *moral resistance*, that which was perpetually practised by the Apostle Paul, and exemplified in our Saviour himself, when interrogated before Pilate, the Scriptures do indeed sanction; but forcible resistance never. We may remark, too, that unreserved submission to the will of a perfectly excellent and omniscient Being must be in the end most truly expedient. The highest virtue is the highest wisdom. Human intellect in its widest range embraces but a narrow and limited prospect. Man sees but a part of the system of divine government, and thence presumptuously judges of the whole. But the Creator of the universe comprehends in a glance the vast chain of cause and effect. His laws are therefore founded upon the most perfect knowledge of consequences; and as they are the institutions of infinite wisdom combined with infinite benevolence, entire obedience must finally tend to produce the greatest sum of happiness. The more enlightened we become, the more our minds are freed from the beclouding influence of ignorance and selfishness; the more distinctly shall we be enabled to perceive the grand purposes of divine legislation. And even where the imperfection of our vision prevents us from clearly discerning these purposes, it is

surely our safest, as well as wisest plan, by a strict adherence to the rule which we are convinced is derived from more extended views than we can possibly attain, to co-operate in their promotion.

But if the advocates of War refuse to encounter the arguments of religion, we will not shrink from meeting them on their own ground. We will undertake to prove that, even in the imagined strong-hold of justice and expediency, their position is untenable, and that war is the source of infinitely more injustice and misery than it professes to remedy. It is not unusual, in discussing this subject, to hear extreme cases brought forward as arguments that shall affect the general conclusion. But this is not fair. There may be instances in which a falsehood may save the life of an innocent man. Is it therefore inferred that lying is a justifiable practice, or that the principle of veracity ought not to be inviolable? No: for the admission of such an exception would be productive of far greater evil than its unqualified rejection. Let the question then be placed on its broadest foundation: Is the alleged right of warfare, upon the whole, a benefit or an injury to mankind? In investigating this point, we shall not attempt to deny, that under the superintendence of that controlling Providence, which makes even the crimes of men subservient to the ends of inscrutable wisdom, War may have been occasionally employed as an instrument in the production of good. It may sometimes have aided in diffusing the blessings of civilization, and often have proved a means of humbling the pride, and chastising the vices of nations. Perhaps, too, it may be intended that its accompanying miseries should finally work out the extirpation of the principle in which they originate, and by displaying, in the most forcible manner, the folly and mischief of contention, enable us to set a higher value on the blessings of Peace. These however are not the motives which impel men to engage in wars. Where they are any better than the promptings of selfish pride, veiled under a thin pretence of patriotism, it is commonly by an idea either of the justice, the policy, or the necessity of fighting, that every contending party is actuated. Let us, then, examine in what degree the practice of war has contributed to the triumph of justice. Each party usually professes to fight under her banners, but the *right* cannot be enlisted on both sides, and can probably *remain* with neither. Who, then, shall decide where it exists, and by what principle shall it be determined how far the cause of justice

may be vindicated, without an infringement of her laws? If we admit as a rule the equal retaliation of wrongs, it must be allowed that any degree of punishment inflicted beyond the exact measure of injury received, is unjust, and becomes itself a wrong, demanding in its turn a similar repayment—thus opening the door to an endless succession of hostilities.

It is worthy of notice, that nearly all those wars, by a series of which Rome obtained the dominion of the world, were undertaken on the pretence, not always unfairly alleged, either of self-defence, or of generous protection afforded to her injured neighbours. From the very circumstances of her settlement, Rome was early an object of suspicion to the surrounding states: they attacked her repeatedly, and she was victorious: her growing power spread the alarm into remote provinces, and the Samnite and Tarentine wars, by the conclusion of which Rome became mistress of Italy, appear to have originated in the provocations she had received. It was under pretence of defending the Mamertines, that she attacked the Carthaginians, and conquered Sicily. At the commencement of the second Punic War, she really acted in a great measure defensively; but found it necessary, *in her own defence*, to begin, and finally complete the conquest of Spain. The Macedonian king had joined her enemies, and she was obliged, still in her own defence and for the protection of her allies, to reduce the whole of Greece to a Roman province. She next discovered that the entire demolition of Carthage was essential to her own security; and it was by assisting her Numidian friends that she acquired the sovereignty of the north-west coast of Africa. The Romans afterwards applied their force to check the devastations of Mithridates; and in consequence of their success in this conflict, Syria, Armenia, and a great part of Asia Minor, were compelled to submit to their yoke. In their wars with the Gauls, the latter were certainly the original aggressors, and furnished their enemies with the plea of necessity for subduing the whole of Cisalpine Gaul, as well as a considerable territory on the other side of the Alps. Then the Roman province was never secure from the incursions of hostile neighbours,—and the Gallic allies demanded the assistance of Cæsar against their enemies; these enemies received aid from the Britons, and Cæsar in short *found himself obliged* to bring the whole of Gaul and a great part of Britain into subjection. These instances have been adduced to prove that even

in those wars which, if we might judge by their results, seem the least likely to admit of it, the plea of self-defence has been made available:—and from an examination of modern history, similar conclusions would undoubtedly be obtained. All who have witnessed the events of the last thirty years are competent to decide whether the plea of *justifiable resistance* did not afford Buonaparte a fair pretext for the commencement of his career of unbridled ambition.

Defensive warfare is therefore objectionable, not only on the general principle that all war is unlawful, but because the admittance of this exception has been in fact the base of the greatest proportion of offensive wars. Few wars continue simply and entirely defensive; and numerous are the instances, where a nation originally taking up arms for her own protection, has become in her turn not only the aggressor, but the conqueror of surrounding nations; and her rulers, yielding to the ambitious desires generated by military success, from the patriotic defenders, have been converted into the tyrannical enslavers of their country. Despotism at home is one of the most frequent and most fatal consequences of successful enterprise abroad. The Athenians had reason to be jealous of their victorious generals. It will be found, too, in pursuing these inquiries, that those whose rights are to be so vigilantly guarded,—to whose claims every other claim must be sacrificed, and whose dearest interests are staked upon the event of a battle, are not in general the great body of the people. They are almost always the elevated few,—the governors of the multitude, in whose concerns the thousands that bleed and starve for them have no more natural participation than in the affairs of their antipodes. For proofs of this assertion we need not confine our research to the annals of despotism. Witness the harsh aristocracies of the Swiss cantons during the middle ages; witness even the boasted glories of Rome, whose citizens, when, after extorting their freedom from the reluctant grasp of their senatorial masters, they were contending against the attacks of foreign enemies, scrupled not to detain under the most galling yoke of slavery, a class of their fellow-men far exceeding themselves in number, or to stigmatize with the most opprobrious epithets, and quell with the most unrelenting fury, the desperate efforts of their victims for emancipation.

But, putting the most favourable case;—suppose a petty state

oppressed by her more powerful neighbour ; she appeals to arms, and after a series of severe and bloody struggles, in the course of which the accumulated mass of individual suffering, probably, greatly outweighs the original grievance, the stronger party in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred gains the ascendancy, and the vanquished is compelled to submit to oppressions ten-fold redoubled,—to insults ten-fold aggravated. History may present a few brilliant exceptions, where the energy of real enthusiasm has overpowered the force of multitude,—but they will not invalidate the general argument—they will not shew that certain guilt and wretchedness have not been incurred for the sake of contingent good—nor will they prove that the same end might not have been attained by far more efficacious and unexceptionable means. The best cause committed to the hazard of war, is a lot thrown into the vase from which fortune selects her favourites at random: it is a complicated question of right and wrong, decided by the barbarous ordeal of gothic superstition. Hear the opinion of one, whom experience had probably better qualified than any other human being to compute the chances of battle. “The fate of a battle,” said Napoleon, “is the result of a moment—of a thought; the hostile forces advance with various combinations, they attack each other and fight for a certain time ; the critical moment arrives,—a mental flash decides, and the forces in reserve accomplish the object.”—And again, “The success of war depends so much on quick-sightedness—on seizing the right moment, that the battle of Austerlitz, which was so completely won, would have been lost if I had attacked six hours sooner.” To such a chance then is the cause of *justice* entrusted,—such are the hopes to which the *lives and liberties of millions* are sacrificed !

In examining the expediency of War, upon the principles of policy, some of those evils which are its inseparable attendants will first be stated ; and afterwards, by historical investigation, it will be discovered how far either contending party has ordinarily attained the object which each was willing to purchase at so enormous a price.

The existence of the immediate *tangible* miseries of war,—famine, pestilence, and death, though too seldom realized to the imagination, is too obvious to require proof.

Among the dreadful results of the military system, there are none

which deserve to be more impressively considered than its demoralizing effects, with regard to the actors : they are indeed such as might naturally be anticipated, where man—intellectual man—reduced to the state of a machine, is obliged at the will of a superior habitually to commit deeds of sanguinary cruelty, the most revolting to his unperverted feelings. Acts of treachery and violence, which in private life would consign their perpetrator to perpetual infamy, are in war accounted not only justifiable, but praiseworthy exploits. Is it possible that such a relaxation of moral principle should take place, without producing corresponding effects on the general character? Look at an army, a body composed of several thousand reflecting beings, subjected to the most degrading prostration of will and understanding, and valued only in proportion to their physical power: what a field for the destruction of every ennobling virtue,—every sentiment of humanity, generosity, and independence! Even where the troops enter with unfeigned zeal into the cause of their leaders, the result is not more favourable to morality. Repeated acts of violence generate similar habits: the injuries of the adverse party provoke reprisals,—a system of mutual ferocity ensues, and we not unfrequently see a whole people, who had originally embarked with all the purity of mistaken enthusiasm, in a cause of justice, changing characters with their oppressors, and becoming in their turn the wanton perpetrators of every atrocious outrage that can disgrace humanity. Of this fact the pages of history unhappily furnish abundant illustration,—a few traits will suffice.

Perhaps there never was a war undertaken from more disinterested motives by the generals, or engaged in with more unanimous self-devotion on the part of the soldiers, than the war of the French royalists, in *La Vendée*. Hear the testimony borne to their character in the beginning of 1794, by an eye-witness of their actions. " Their bravery and enthusiasm had not effaced their natural gentleness: their love and respect for religion, although unenlightened, contributed to increase this sentiment. In the early part of the war, before the atrocities of the republicans had inspired the desire of vengeance and reprisals, the Vendean army was no less touching by its virtues, than admirable for its courage. None of the disorders which usually accompany war, stained the victories of the royalists: towns entered by force were not pillaged, the vanquished

were never ill treated ; neither ransom nor contribution were exacted," &c. Now turn to a portrait of their conduct a few months later, drawn by the same hand : " The fury of the peasants was augmented by the battle and victory : they gave no quarter ; in vain did their chiefs cry out to the republicans, ' Throw down your arms and you shall be unhurt : ' the soldiers massacred them, notwithstanding. When they arrived in the town, the carnage became still more horrible. Monsieur de Lescure, who commanded the advanced guard, had passed through Chatillon, in pursuit of the fugitives, and had given order for the safe detention of several hundred prisoners : the peasants, instead of obeying him, began to murder them in cold blood : Monsieur de Marigny led them on. The soldiers even levelled their pieces at Monsieur D'Elbée, and others, who endeavoured to oppose them. As soon as Monsieur de Lescure was informed of these horrors, he hastened to the spot ; sixty persons whom he had just taken threw themselves about him, clinging to his clothes, and to his horse. He went to the prison and the disorder ceased, for the soldiers respected him too much not to obey him. But Monsieur de Marigny, frantic with rage, exclaimed, ' Begone, and suffer me to kill these monsters ; they were the incendiaries who burnt your castle.' The massacre was thus stopped at Chatillon, but many of the wretched fugitives were assassinated in the farm-houses whither they had fled," &c. At another period, the writer adds, " M. de Marigny continued to give occasional proofs of cruelty ; the other officers did not indeed imitate him, but they no longer opposed his vengeance. It is thus that civil war transforms the very nature of man. M. de Marigny, one of the gentlest and best of men, had been rendered blood-thirsty." Nay, the amiable authoress says of herself, " I confess that this day, finding on the road the dead bodies of many republicans, I was urged by a kind of secret and involuntary rage silently to spur forward my horse, and trample under foot the remains of those who had killed M. de Lescure."*

During the opposition maintained by the Swiss Republics in the 15th century, against the unrighteous pretensions of France and Austria, the following and other similar circumstances took place ; " They," that is, the Swiss, " possessed themselves of Mont Avenche, Payerne, Estavoyer, Yverdun, and many other places :

* Memoires de Madame de La Roche Jaquelin.

and frequently massacred in cold blood the garrisons of castles taken by assault. At Les-cles, eighteen soldiers found alive in the fort were beheaded by a valet, who only saved his own life by consenting to this odious deed. At Estavoyer, of all the garrison and all the population, both of town and castle, only twenty-four survived, and the executioner attending the army was himself murdered for suffering these, or other devoted victims, to escape.”*

These instances have been intentionally selected from wars undertaken with a sincerity and disinterestedness, which, if any principle could have withstood the influence of habit and example, might have been expected to preserve valour from the taint of barbarity. One anecdote, however, from Schiller’s History of the Thirty-years’ War, deserves insertion in this place; it relates to the taking of Magdeburg, by the soldiers of the Catholic League: “Here commenced a scene, to describe which history has no language, poetry no pencil. Neither the innocence of childhood, nor the debility of old age; neither youth, sex, beauty, nor condition, could disarm the fury of the conquerors.” “Fifty-three dead bodies of women, who had been beheaded, were found in the cathedral; the Croats amused themselves in throwing children into the flames; Pappenheim’s Walloons in murdering infants at the breast. Some officers of the Catholic League, shocked at these frightful scenes, entreated Tilly to stop the effusion of blood. ‘Return in an hour,’ was his stern answer, *‘the soldier must have some reward for his toils.’* The massacre lasted with incessant fury until the smoke and flames interrupted the plunderers. To augment the confusion, and prevent the resistance of the inhabitants, the town had been set on fire in different quarters, a storm arose which spread the flames with rapidity, and soon made them universal. The horrors of the scene were augmented by the dead bodies, falling ruins, and streams of blood; the atmosphere was heated, the intenseness of the vapour at length compelled the conquerors to take refuge in their camp,” &c. . . . “The entire amount of the slaughtered was calculated at thirty thousand.” The entry of the General took place on the 14th, *“the next day a solemn mass was performed, and Te Deum sung under a discharge of artillery!!”*

Such are, then, the demoralizing consequences of War. Now let its effects upon the general prosperity of a country be observed.

* Simond’s Switzerland.

The science of Political Economy is at present so well understood, that it is no longer a disputed question, whether restrictions upon the freedom of commercial intercourse are, upon the whole, disadvantageous. The principle, that the wealth of every nation is best promoted by her being enabled freely to dispose of her superfluous produce, in exchange for the superfluous produce of other climates, is adopted by the most enlightened statesmen of our times. As the supply of every article is finally regulated by the demand, it is reasonable to imagine, that if it were possible to remove all artificial restraints upon commerce, the balance of trade would ultimately find its level throughout the world, and the greatest sum of comfort and enjoyment accrue to mankind at large. But in War, each party endeavours to injure the trade of her adversary, by prohibiting the importation of her commodities; and the advantages of a free market are thus unnaturally sacrificed on both sides. Again, the strength of a nation consists not in the numerical amount of its population, but in the proportion of *productive labourers* it contains. War creates a vast number of *unproductive labourers*, the expense of whose maintenance diminishes the profits of the rest of the community. The most permanently advantageous employment of industry is in the production of those goods, the demand for which is least liable to fluctuation. Now war calls into existence a variety of trades and professions, the necessity for whose exercise ceases with the cessation of hostilities, and a multitude of individuals thus become unprofitable consumers, and at the return of peace are thrown back a dead weight upon the country. When to these considerations is added that of the absolute waste of necessities always occasioned by military measures, the magazines of provisions that are destroyed in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, we shall be tempted to doubt whether even the complete attainment of the desired object would compensate, to either party, the damage and loss attending its pursuit.

It will not, however, be difficult to show, that wars have generally been, to all parties concerned in them, as fruitless in their end, as injurious in their progress. Indeed; how should it be otherwise, unless where the contest is so unequal as to leave the weaker party entirely overpowered? The loss of a battle may render the people desirous of a temporary respite from the miseries of war, but it has no tendency to produce an adjustment of differences. Treaties

of peace, the fruit, not of moderation, but of necessity, will be observed as faithfully as they usually are—and, after a convenient breathing time, hostilities will be renewed on both sides with increased animosity.*

A work that should exhibit, in a brief, but comprehensive review a statement of the actual *product* of wars, with their counter-balance of cost, from the earliest date of authentic history to the present day, would be an invaluable treasure. As the present inquiries, however, are necessarily restricted, by the limits of this Essay, within a short period, the continental wars in which England was any way engaged during the latter part of the 17th and the 18th centuries, will be selected as their object.

No sooner had William III. ascended the throne of England, than the nation engaged as a principal in the war carried on against France by Austria, Holland, and Spain. Her intentions, as set forth in the declaration of war, were to assist the Emperor of Germany,—to repel the encroachments of the French upon the Newfoundland fishery, and to recover possession of Hudson's Bay,—to maintain the interests of English commerce, and the supremacy of the English flag,—to protect her Protestant fellow-countrymen in France, and to oblige Louis to withdraw his support from the cause of the Stuarts.† The Dutch complained chiefly of injuries to their trade; the Emperor, of the aggressions of Louis in general, and the seizure of the

* A few extracts from the Annual Registers for 1760 and 1761, will serve to confirm and illustrate these remarks.—“If all the wars which have harassed Europe for more than a century had not proved it, the events of the last campaign must have satisfied every thinking man that victories do not decide the fate of nations. Four most bloody, and, to all appearance, most ruinous defeats, which he suffered in that year, had despoiled the King of Prussia of no more than a single town.”
 “Fortune has decided nothing by the events of five years' war. We have seen armies, after a complete victory, obliged to act as if they had been defeated, and after defeat, taking an offensive part with success, and reaping all the fruits of victory.” . . . “The balance of power, the pride of modern policy, has been the origin of innumerable and fruitless wars. That political torture by which powers are to be enlarged or abridged, according to a standard perhaps not very accurately imagined, ever has been, and, it is to be feared, will always continue, a cause of infinite contention and bloodshed.” . . . “All parties in the diffusive operations” of modern war, “have, of necessity, their strong and weak sides. What they gain in one part is lost in another, and, in the conclusion, their affairs become so balanced, that all the powers concerned are certain to lose a great deal, the most fortunate acquire little, and what they do acquire, is never in any reasonable proportion to charge or loss.” . . . “This sort of balance being produced, the peace of conquest becomes impracticable. It would prove of infinite moment to the tranquillity of mankind, that this point were sufficiently regarded, and that they would willingly adopt that system of equality, to which, sooner or later, with more or fewer struggles, they are so often compelled to submit.”

† Tindal.

Palatinate in particular. At the termination of seven years' war, during which Italy, Germany, France, Hungary, and Spain, had been deluged with blood; the commerce of England almost ruined, and the burden of the national debt* entailed upon posterity, a temporary suspension of hostilities was produced by the treaty of Ryswick. By this treaty, the claims of the Palatinate were left to arbitration: and although Louis gratified the honour of the Emperor by demolishing the fortifications on the right bank of the Rhine, yet subsequent events proved this boundary to be little more than ideal.† In those places, which were restored to Austria, it was stipulated on the part of France, that the Catholic worship should be continued in the same state as it was then exercised; in consequence of which, 1922‡ churches were compelled either to abjure their religion, or suffer the penalties attached to its profession. A memorial was presented to Louis in behalf of his persecuted Protestant subjects, but upon its rejection they were abandoned to their fate. Let it never be forgotten that a zeal for the Protestant cause was one of William's ostensible motives for entering upon this war. To Spain, indeed, the King of France made some apparent concessions, but with the design, afterwards carried into execution, of more easily ensuring the whole kingdom to the House of Bourbon; while, by leaving the question of the Spanish succession undetermined, it became evident that Europe was again to be the theatre of a new war, derived from the very evils the late contest was intended to obviate.§ The English on their part had deserted their German allies; the dispute concerning Hudson's Bay was referred to future arbitration, and how far the remaining objects of their declaration, as well as the freedom of commerce to the Dutch, were eventually promoted, will be best shown by the respective declarations of each nation in 1702. Here the English remonstrate against fresh infringements of their commercial rights, and against the continued countenance afforded to the Pretender. The Dutch declare that "the Republic is deprived of a barrier for which she had already maintained two bloody wars;"

* At the expulsion of James, the nation was encumbered with no other debt than that of 664,263*l.* to the bankers, which was charged upon the hereditary excise, in the 12th of King William, and of 60,000*l.* to the servants of Charles the Second, which was provided for in the first Session of Parliament after the Revolution. But in consequence of the continued wars during the whole of King William's reign, above 61,000,000*l.* were voted by Parliament for the public expenditure, and on the 31st of December, 1701, the nation was encumbered with a permanent debt of 6,748,730*l.* the annual interest on which amounted to 566,165*l.* (Rees' Cyclopædia.)

† Coxe's Memoirs of the House of Austria.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

and that "the late treaty was no sooner ratified," than the French recommenced their encroachments on her trade.* The House of Austria claimed by right of inheritance, and by virtue of the partition treaty signed in 1700, a principal part of the kingdom and dependencies of Spain, which the French monarch had already succeeded in appropriating to the Bourbon family. England and Holland also thought themselves interested in preventing the growth of the power which might result from an union between these two kingdoms. The King of France, of course, in his counter-declaration, charged the allies with being the aggressors,† and asserted the justice and necessity of self-defence. After all the sanguinary battles fought in pursuit of these objects, between the years 1702 and 1714, the following were the principal conditions of the peace of Utrecht. The grand aim of the confederacy, which had been to effect a permanent separation between the French and Spanish crowns, was secured only by an *unguaranteed* promise on the part of the Bourbon family, that the two kingdoms should never be united; a renunciation to which they readily consented, having declared it to be null and void by the fundamental laws of France; and one which, in the words of a protest entered in the House of Lords, was so fallacious, that no reasonable man, much less whole nations, could ever look upon it as any security.‡ The commercial treaty procured for England was so exceedingly unfavourable to the interests of trade, that the bill for rendering it effectual was rejected by the Commons, in consequence of the numerous petitions against it from merchants in all parts of the country. No alteration was produced in Louis's conduct towards the Pretender, by his enforced recognition of the Queen's title. The Dutch were hurried into a treaty, in many respects less advantageous than one by which their pensionary Heinsius had declared they would lose the fruit of all the blood and treasure hitherto expended. And with regard to Austria, Marshal Villars justly remarked, that "after a war of fourteen years, during which the Emperor and King of France had nearly quitted their respective capitals, Spain had seen two rival kings in Madrid, and almost all the petty states of Italy had changed their sovereigns; a war which had desolated the greater part of Europe, was concluded on the very terms which might have been procured at the

* Tindal.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

commencement of hostilities."* The grants of parliament in the course of thirteen years had exceeded eighty millions, and at the death of Queen Anne the debt amounted to 50,644,306*l.* requiring 2,811,903*l.* to be annually raised in taxes on the labour and property of the people towards paying the interest of it.†

The next war in which England engaged, in 1718, had for its professed object the protection of her merchants against the Spaniards: it was also intended, by obliging the King of Spain to accede to the quadruple alliance, to secure to the Emperor of Germany the undisturbed possession of Sicily. Philip was indeed forced to comply with the demands of the allies; but the continued depredations upon British vessels soon became again a subject of complaint; and in 1735, at the termination of the Austrian war with France and Spain, the dominion of Sicily was restored to the latter.

The dreadful conflicts to which the disputed claim to the Polish throne soon after gave rise, appear to have originated in the restless ambition of all the belligerent powers, and led to the destruction of the independence, and even national existence of Poland. Charles the Sixth of Austria, by his uncontrollable love of war, reduced his once flourishing dominions to the lowest state of degradation and weakness. In 1739, England renewed hostilities with Spain on the old pretence, and four years after entered into a new war with France. At the peace of 1748, when a general restitution of conquests took place, nearly thirty millions had been added to the national debt, the trade of the country was encumbered with additional customs and excise, and the nation, in regard to its foreign possessions, exactly in the same state as at the commencement of the war.‡ Nor had the continental powers, whose quarrels (prosecuted for seven years with the utmost animosity) were also decided at the conferences of Aix la Chapelle, any better ground of satisfaction. France had failed in her object of dispossessing the Austrian princess of her hereditary dominions. Maria Theresa, whose contested claims had been the original source of the war, was so little pleased by its conclusion, that she was incapable of restraining her chagrin, and informed the British ambassador, when he requested permission to offer his congratulations on the return of peace, that compliments of condolence would be more appropriate:§ while

* Coxe.

† Rees' Cyclopædia.

‡ Ibid.

§ Coxe.

the acquisition of Silesia by the King of Prussia, who seems to have been the only gaining party, proved the cause of a fresh war, which broke out in 1756, and which, supported by the mutual ambition of Frederick and the Empress-queen, and subsequently connected with the disputes of the French and English respecting their territorial limits in America, gradually drew all the states of Europe within its focus, and extended its ravages to Asia, Africa, and America. With the hope of furthering her success in this war, Maria Theresa relinquished the friendship of the English, to whose assistance she had been principally indebted for the preservation of her crown;—while by her alliance with France,—by her neglect of the barrier towns in the Netherlands,—and by the family compact between the two houses of Bourbon, to which the events of the war gave birth,—the whole system of continental policy, to the maintenance of which the peace of Europe had been sacrificed for more than a century, was at once overthrown.

“The pacification, which in 1763 terminated this war, placed the affairs of Germany in precisely the same situation as at the commencement of hostilities, and both parties (Prussia and Austria,) after an immense waste of blood and treasure, derived from it no other benefit than that of experiencing each other’s strength, and a dread of renewing the calamities of so destructive a contest.”* The English wrested Florida and Minorca from Spain, and restored them again by the treaty of 1783. The differences between France and England in the East and West Indies, and in Africa, were compromised by mutual concessions, and the national debt had been augmented from 75,071,264*l.* to 146,582,844*l.* It was, however, confidently asserted, that by the additional security which the acquisition of Canada had afforded to her colonies in North America, Great Britain would ultimately acquire ample indemnification for all her losses, in the increasing trade and prosperity of the colonies, and in the gradual diminution of her debt; which would result from her being saved more effectually than by any other method from the necessity of another war.†

But mark the short-sighted calculations of such politicians! It was in order to lessen the weight of the debt incurred in the pursuit of these very objects, that Great Britain made that attempt upon the liberties

of her American subjects, which, after reviving the horrors of war on both sides of the globe, and costing the lives of a hundred thousand British soldiers, terminated in the entire loss of those colonies, and in the addition of nearly a hundred millions to the burdens of the nation. On the part of France, who had been drawn into the American war, nothing was acquired by the treaty of 1763; the Duch lost some commercial privileges, and the Spaniards simply regained what they had been deprived of in the preceding war.

Such were the results of the conflicts that desolated Christendom during a great part of the two last centuries.

It is unnecessary at present to review the motives and consequences of those wars which, beginning in 1792, were for upwards of twenty years the source of more widely diffused misery, and a greater waste of life and property, than has ever before been known,—because Europe in general is now fully competent to decide whether they have contributed in any adequate proportion to the advancement of liberty and true happiness; and we may safely leave England to determine how far they have ultimately tended to promote her internal and commercial prosperity.

The vague notions of justice and expediency being set aside by an attentive examination of facts, the defenders of War have recourse to their last argument—it is that which upheld the Slave Trade, and which has been employed to justify every injustice since the world began—the argument of necessity. “We admit,” they say, “the truth of all your statements: we allow that War is scarcely ever effectual to the particular end proposed, and that it is the source of innumerable evils; but still we affirm, that these evils are unavoidable, and that a people who should regulate their conduct by the pacific maxims you recommend, would be attacked and inevitably annihilated by their less scrupulous neighbours.” To this it may be replied, in the first place, that the experiment has never been fairly tried. We have, it is true, seen nations submitting to an ignominious yoke, impelled by fear or imbecility; but where the principles of action are totally different, we have no right to predict similar results. The fashion of settling disputes at the point of the sword has been pursued long enough to convince the most prejudiced observer that it is attended with incalculable mischief. Is it not then at least worth while to try whether a contrary method might

not be productive of less evil? In the only instance on record, in which such a line of policy has been steadily adopted, it proved completely successful. We know that to the arguments in favour of inviolable peace, adduced from the history of Pennsylvania, it is commonly objected, that as William Penn and his followers had to deal only with uncivilized Indians, the principles which were found equal to their emergencies can afford no rule of action amidst the complicated relations of European states. This is plausible. But since the English, the Dutch, and indeed all preceding settlers had been involved in perpetual hostilities with the natives, it must be granted that if William Penn had never made the experiment, we should have had precisely the same reason for maintaining the impracticability of establishing any colony upon peaceable principles, which the present advocates of War allege against the possibility of ensuring to these principles a universal reception.

"But how," it is asked, "if the lawfulness of War be denied, is liberty, that choicest blessing on earth, to be preserved?" Do we then undervalue liberty? God forbid. No, we would cherish her as the dearest gift of heaven, and at her altar we would cheerfully sacrifice all the treasure we possess; all but the treasure of a pure conscience and an unspotted life. The doctrine of non-resistance, in the sense of unqualified submission, is alike degrading to the character, and subversive of the rights of man. There does, however, exist a principle, which, though little appreciated, because seldom brought into action, is yet fully adequate to the preservation of liberty—the principle of MORAL RESISTANCE. Its power is infinitely superior to the force of arms, not only because free from the imputation of blood-guiltiness, but because not, like the operations of physical strength, liable to uncertainty in its effects. The event of a battle is always doubtful; but the opposition of steady, persevering non-compliance, no victory can subdue. No man can be literally *compelled* to obey the commands of another. Would any ruler attempt to invade the liberties of a nation, when he was perfectly assured that all his efforts would be utterly unavailing in producing obedience to his decrees, and that, after baffling the last resources of tyranny, resolution would remain as immovable as at the beginning of the contest? It would be like attempting with a knife to cut against the solid rock:—*physical* resistance is the clash

of opposing lances in the tilt-yard, where it is an even chance which shall first shiver the other to pieces. Hampden did more for the liberties of his country, when he steadfastly refused to submit to the illegal imposition of twenty shillings, than when he took up arms in defence of those liberties. And if all Englishmen had been Hampdens, there would have been no Charles to tyrannize—no Cromwell to usurp.

With respect to internal reforms, experience has surely manifested that they are seldom permanently effected by violence. It is by the strong voice of public opinion—that voice, the power of which is daily increasing, and against the unanimous expression of which no corrupt system of government can long maintain its ground, that effectual reform is alone to be accomplished. It was by the plan of passive endurance—of calm unbending fortitude, that Christianity obtained her footing among men. If the early Christians had flown to arms in defence of their principles, the probability is, that they would have sunk beneath the overpowering weight of numbers. But the sword was not their instrument of warfare, and their weapons were unconquerable by earthly force. The cause of Christianity, it is true, was under the special protection of Divine Providence; but may it not be added, that the same protection will be afforded to all who, in a firm reliance on that Providence, conform their actions unreservedly to the will of heaven? If it be said, that such a mode of proceeding would involve a great deal of passive suffering, we answer, first, perhaps not so much as is invariably produced by measures of active resistance—and, secondly, that this system once established, the practice of War would necessarily cease, as devoid of object.

We call upon all, who are capable of discerning the mischief and ultimate inutility of War, to unite in diffusing those sentiments which will lead to the discovery of some better means of adjusting differences,—some “more dignified tribunal” than the field of battle. Why should there not be a congress of nations* to combine the energies of all in

* Since this Tract was written, the official document relative to the settlement of some differences between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States of America, by arbitration, has been laid before Parliament by Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning, or the author would probably have adverted to it. The mode adopted by the two governments was, first, for each respectively to appoint a commissioner to settle the points in dispute between them; and, provided the

the promotion of one common interest? Let us urge home to the conscience and understanding of every rational creature, the necessity of an adherence to fixed principles. Half the mischief in the world arises from men's forsaking those grand general rules of Christianity which are calculated to secure the greatest eventual sum of good, to go in quest of temporary expedients. It is this which fills our streets with beggars,—it is this which overspreads the earth with slaughter. Perhaps it will be said that every general rule admits of exceptions. True;—where these exceptions are deduced from other general rules, but not where they are framed to suit the exigencies of a particular case. When any class of exceptions, however, proves on the whole productive of mischief, the rule by which it is supported *must* be fallacious. If it be granted that the universal adoption of pacific principles would conduce to the well-being of mankind, we ask how it is possible that these principles should become universal whilst any individual is permitted to claim an exemption in his own favour? When every single nation is determined on the preservation of peace, there will be an end to contest. And though we are not so sanguine as to expect that *in the present state of public feeling and opinion* any nation unjustly attacked will abstain from using arms in her own defence; nevertheless we remain convinced that the best method of furthering the entire abolition of War is, by placing it in its true light, to promote the spread of those principles which, if generally adopted, would arrest alike the hand of the invader, and the angry resistance of the injured party, and which would, at all events, induce the rulers of each country to exert their most strenuous endeavours in avoiding every ground of offence and contention. Or if War must be considered a necessary evil, let it be regarded strictly as an evil,—let the warrior no longer be looked upon with feelings of admiration, and we may venture to predict that his profession will not be of long

Commissioners could not agree, finally to refer their differences to the decision of some friendly power, to be mutually agreed upon by the two governments. In the instance above referred to, the Commissioners disagreed, and the difference was referred to the Emperor of Russia, each party "engaging to consider his decision final and conclusive." It is therefore suggested whether the same mode might not be adopted in settling any future differences between nations, even in preference to forming a congress for that purpose proposed in the text. The principle is the same, but the mode is less complex, and less liable to objection; it has also the advantage of having been tried, and proved successful.

continuance. If the judgment be impressed with the guilt and folly of strife, it is well;—but it is not sufficient. There are illusions which play round the heart, whose active energy bids defiance to the sober calculations of reason. The understanding and the passions exert a reciprocal influence; and in order to insure the practical conviction of the former, it is essentially requisite to dissipate the false glare of the latter. Most of those erroneous prepossessions which have tinged the sentiments of men with the colours of military enthusiasm, originate either in partial views of mankind,—in a superficial attention to particular evils,—in the influence of prevailing custom,—or in the exclusive contemplation of that grandeur of design and sublimity of character, which are sometimes the accompaniments of warlike exploits, but with which they are so falsely and so fatally considered as inseparably connected.

The quarrels of nations resemble, on a larger scale, the quarrels of individuals. As a proud and selfish man, jealous of fancied dignity, places his own interests in continual opposition to the interests of another, and imagines they are best promoted by an infringement of his neighbour's rights; so each nation, instead of regarding herself as only one of the members of a great family, "bound to co-operate for each other's benefit, and interested in each other's well-being,"* too often conceives that to injure and depress the trade of foreign countries, is to exalt the prosperity of her own. Reason and philanthropy do indeed teach us, "that one nation thrives not upon the ruins of another,"† and that the welfare of a part is ever conducive to the welfare of the whole; but prejudices imbibed in the cradle obtain a hold over the fancy, that is hardly ever shaken off in after-life; and as long as the infant tongue shall be taught to lisp in accents of congratulation the *happy* news that our armies have been victorious—that we have beaten our enemies, and have killed several thousands of them—as long as the infant mind shall be directed to dwell exclusively on the glories of its own country; so long will degrading notions of national honour,—petty, narrow misrepresentations of national policy,—continue to oppose the progress of all that is truly excellent, truly noble, and truly patriotic in principle and in action.

A second kind of error consists in the little attention bestowed

* Sixth Report of the Peace Society.

† Ibid.

upon details. We suffer the imagination to be seduced by floating ideas of magnificence and grandeur; and, dazzled by the brilliant results of a campaign, we neglect to examine closely the real features of War, or we should shrink with horror from their odious deformity. Does he, who celebrates with triumphant applause the defeat of a rival nation, recollect, that at that *very moment* hundreds are lying on the field of battle in the last agonies of death; that hundreds more, crowded in miserable hospitals, are groaning on the beds from which they will never arise, but with limbs mutilated, bodies enfeebled, and health destroyed, to drag out the remains of a tedious existence—a burthen to themselves, and a cause of never-ceasing grief to their friends? Does he picture to himself the fond wife, who, after listening for many hours in breathless anxiety to the distant roar of that awful thunder, whose every peal is dismissing multitudes to eternity—at the conclusion of the battle rushes eagerly forward, only to meet the tidings that her husband—her friend—the protector of her beloved children, whom she had that very morning clasped to her bosom, warm with life and hope—lies now a bloody corpse among heaps of slain? Does he think of desolated corn fields, ruined villages, towns in flames,—the wretched inhabitants compelled at midnight to seek in the open fields a refuge from the brutality of an infuriated soldiery—and, above all, does he seriously reflect that these calamities are not the work of an over-heated imagination—not the fanciful delineations of fictitious woe; but that they are, *at this present time,* actually endured*, by beings of his own species—beings with wants as numerous—feelings as acute as his own?

The prevalent ascendancy of custom is a third cause by which the judgment is biassed. Men cannot easily bring themselves to believe that the force of intellect, the deliberations of councils, and the energies of nations, are wasted in support of a delusion. But is the amount of means employed any standard by which to estimate the utility of the end? Have not whole communities expended their strength, and philosophers their labours, in pursuit of objects now universally acknowledged to be unimportant or pernicious? And if the extent of any practice be admitted as an argument in favour of its propriety, what abuse is there which may not be justified?

But the most fertile source of all the warlike madness by which the world has ever been afflicted, is the idea of GLORY, so unfortunately attached to the spirit of military enterprise. This association has been the more dangerously influential, because it frequently derives its strength from an union with feelings that are in themselves right and valuable. The sentiment which teaches us to despise a mean and cowardly temper is natural and correct. Now meanness and cowardice have indeed given birth to a quiet acquiescence under injuries, though not to that magnanimous forbearance, that moral resistance, which are only produced by truly Christian motives. As, however, the *immediate* effects of each are similar, men forget to distinguish between two principles, the most opposite in their origin and tendency, and involve both in the same indiscriminating censure. Again, self-devotion and courage are properly objects of respect. The admirer of military honour, seeing these qualities exemplified in his hero, admits them to their due rank in his esteem; but he admits with them sentiments and actions that, deprived of their adventitious companions, could only have excited unmingled disgust. Two distinct ideas—the idea of grandeur of soul, and the idea of destructive violence, become thenceforth united. Shall it then be said, that they are necessarily and inseparably united? The time has been when a deed of abstract revenge was hailed with similar enthusiasm, and from a similar cause; the idea of revenge had been associated with the ideas of power and courage. The custom of feudal warfare was once deemed so honourable, or so *necessary*, as to merit the sanction of legislative authority. To expose to the hootings of popular derision the unhappy captives of her arms, was the crowning triumph of polished Rome. All these feelings have passed away; we look back upon them with curiosity and surprise: we almost wonder they could ever have existed. And may not the time arrive when national warfare shall be regarded among the relics of departed barbarism; when men shall have learnt that the spirit of freedom and heroic disinterestedness is worthy of more dignified associates than rapine, injustice, and bloodshed?

Even at present, notwithstanding the habitual perversion of our sentiments, the mind experiences a more exalted emotion of pleasure in contemplating the enduring fortitude of the martyr, than the active bravery of the warrior; and an accidental trait of humanity

in the chronicles of war shines like a bright spot amid surrounding darkness.*

When too, at seasons of intellectual expansion, we look upon this earth as upon a mere speck in creation; the mighty shadow of human glory vanishes into air. We laugh at the insignificant quarrels and imaginary importance of its inhabitants, who, like ants swarming from their petty citadels, are disputing each their inch of ground. We then feel that the real dignity of man can only consist in that elevation of soul, that superiority of mind over matter, by which he approaches the rank of angels. The courage of the bravest soldier is in fact so greatly dependent on mere animal excitement, and is so often found totally unconnected with all the nobler qualities of heart and head, that it deserves rather to be classed with the instinctive ferocity of the tiger, than with those lofty principles which animate and sustain the true hero.

Let us imagine a man, whose character, formed under the influence of these principles, is unalloyed by any mixture of warlike delusion. We see him consecrating all the faculties of his soul, not to the destruction, but to the improvement of his species. His ardent and comprehensive benevolence recognises no narrow limits of sect or country. Regardless of personal interest, he pursues his philanthropic course, and rejoices to feel himself the friend of man, and a follower of God. While he weeps over the blindness of his brethren, he dedicates his life to their illumination. He does not indeed seek to redress their grievances by rushing into the field of battle; yet his are no idle wishes—no inactive speculations. He can oppose unyielding fortitude to unrelenting tyranny; and he can raise the voice of honest indignation against the wanton abuses of power, until the energies of multitudes are aroused for their suppression. He loves glory, indeed; but it is the glory appropriated to the

* The following story, from the History of Switzerland, in the 14th century will serve to illustrate this remark. "During the various disputes which accompanied each successive election of an emperor, Soleure having embraced the cause of Louis of Bavaria, was besieged by Duke Leopold; and a great inundation of the Aar having carried away his works, machines, and bridges, a great number of his men were in imminent danger of perishing. At this moment the Soleurians, forgetful of all hostile considerations, put off in boats and rescued them. The Duke was touched, and, unwilling to be outdone in magnanimity, requested to be introduced into the town, with only thirty followers, presented a banner, and made peace." Is there any one who does not feel the beauty of this anecdote, and who does not feel it the more forcibly from the strong impression of contrast?

benefactor of his race. His eye is lighted up with enthusiasm,—it is the enthusiasm of benevolence. His spirit remains unmoved alike amid the shafts of calumny, or the more open assaults of undisguised enmity. Despised, persecuted, abandoned, he can still, in the testimony of a good conscience, lift up his eyes to an unfailing Protector,—still breathe a prayer for the triumph of that great cause to which his heart is devoted,—the downfall of error, and the universal diffusion of light, love, and happiness among men.

Who, that has dwelt upon a character like this, can turn to the contemplation of the most splendid deeds ever enrolled in the annals of military fame, and not feel the immeasurable distance between the courage of a Christian and that of a Warrior,—not confess that there is a spirit of forbearance which, far from being the ally of pusillanimous weakness, is fitted to excite the sublimest emotions of admiration and respect?

Since, then, it has been proved that the practice of war is directly opposed to the tenour of Christianity,—that its chance of effecting ultimate good is, in the most favourable case, extremely small, while it is in its very nature productive of incalculable mischief, leaving to the vanquished unmitigated misery, and to the victor a large preponderance of evil, balanced only by the disgraceful joy of selfish exultation,—that it is almost always inadequate to the end proposed,—that the cause of justice might be far better maintained by other means, and that the spirit which supports it is founded in delusion,—let every friend to humanity labour for its abolition. And let not the advocates of peace despair, when they contemplate the apparent magnitude of their task. They must not indeed expect, that a custom so deeply rooted in the prejudices and passions of mankind, will be speedily eradicated; but they may at least foretell that national wars will not much longer be waged at the caprice of a few; for the tide of public opinion has already advanced with such rapidity as will authorize them to look forward with confidence to its final triumph. And when they reflect on the important changes that opinion has undergone, almost within their own memory;—the trade in human flesh (enjoying scarcely less prescriptive sanction than the practice of war) no longer vindicated as innocent;—prisons not as formerly the abodes of unpitied wretchedness, where the criminal was doomed by aggravated and disproportioned sufferings to expiate his crime, and increase his guilt:—more especially, when they consider how power-

fully that intercourse, which now subsists among benevolent individuals of various countries, whom national differences had too long kept asunder, and who have lately begun to combine in the promotion of philanthropic purposes, must tend to restore alienated affection, and to cement those bonds that unite man to man,—they will be encouraged to persevere in their endeavours to infuse into the current as it flows, a portion of that pacific spirit which alone can render its stream permanently fertilizing. In this labour of love, none are too insignificant to co-operate. It is by an union of individual exertions that every great object is accomplished. If mothers, instead of teaching their infant charge to gaze with delight on the trappings of military preparations, or to listen with childish eagerness to the notes of military music, would early instil into their minds those feelings of universal sympathy, and that deep sense of the horrors of war, which reason and religion alike inculcate;—if the young and fair would bestow on the exertions of benevolence those smiles too often the reward of sanguinary valour;—if they, whom heaven has gifted with poetic talent, would dedicate to heaven's own cause an art so fatally misemployed in the celebration of warlike achievements,—we might then hope that the rapid diffusion of Christian knowledge and Christian piety would hasten the arrival of that glorious period, when throughout the world, “the work of righteousness shall be PEACE, and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever.”*

* Isaiah

FINIS.

Tract No. IX. Part I. of the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace.

THE
PRINCIPLES OF PEACE
EXEMPLIFIED
IN THE CONDUCT OF
THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN IRELAND,

During the Rebellion of the Year 1798

WITH
SOME PRELIMINARY AND CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

—◆—
BY
THOMAS HANCOCK, M. D.
=

—◆—
IN THREE PARTS.
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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE Fifth Tract of the Peace Society contained facts chiefly selected from Labaume's Narrative of the Campaign in Russia, in 1812. exhibiting the scenes of misery and desolation which the warlike spirit produces on the earth. The present Publication, which the Committee of the Peace Society has, with the permission of the worthy Author, adopted as a Tract of that Society, exhibits facts of an opposite character,—facts which shew not only how the pacific principles of the Gospel throw a protection around those who imbibe and act consistently with them,—but they also shew how their influence calms the turbulent passions, and lessens the horrors of war.

If it be objected that the facts here recorded relate almost exclusively to one denomination of Christians, the Quakers, or Society of Friends, whose principles on war are well known, but that if others not of that persuasion had acted on the same principles, they would have been exposed to all the fatal effects of party violence ; we answer, that this is opposing hypothesis to fact, the same principles of conduct being calculated to produce the same effects ; when they have not so done, it must be attributed to a misunderstanding or doubt of the principles on which the persons acted ; and even in such cases of extremity, God is able to deliver those who trust in him, an instance of which the reader will find in the preservation of the Moravians at Gracehill, mentioned in Part II. of this Tract.

The objector cannot regret more than we do, that the facts should almost exclusively relate to the Society of Friends ; it would have afforded us equal, if not greater pleasure, to have been able to produce similar facts of the members of the Established Church, or of any other denomination of Christians : the time, we doubt not, will arrive, and may it soon arrive, when they shall share with the Friends the honour of supporting the pacific principles of the Gospel : till then we can only record such facts as present themselves to our notice, and may they stimulate the reader to obey the Christian language of exhortation which they practically address to him, " Go, and do thou likewise."

*March, 1828.*

## PREFACE.

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THE documents from which this brief narrative is compiled, have, most of them, been some years in the author's possession. They have been obtained from those who were concerned, either as actors or eye-witnesses, in the scenes which are depicted. They contain the names of such individuals as are alluded to in the narrative ; but the author is placed under the necessity of generally withholding them.\*

Though some, amongst the individuals noticed, are now in the silent grave, yet the nature of the scenes in which they were engaged, requires that regard should be paid to their surviving friends and immediate descendants. Associated, as were those scenes with the heart-burnings of civil war, it is possible that, even at this distance of time, the narrative might recall some feelings, in societies and neighbourhoods, which, for the sake of harmony and good fellowship, ought to be consigned to oblivion.

If this reason be entitled to consideration, in so far as it relates to the descendants of those whose acts are recorded, the surviving individuals, to whom allusion is made, have much stronger motives to urge the concealment they have requested.

Under disadvantages which thus attach to the publication, the author cannot do less than assure his reader of his undoubted belief in the truth of the incidents that are recorded ; being personally acquainted not only with some of the individuals, but of the writers concerned, and knowing that they are entitled to the fullest credit. But the documents being simply designed to shew in what manner

\* The narrative respecting Ballitore, affords an exception.

a number of persons, who followed the principles of peace, regulated their conduct in a time of civil warfare, and, through divine mercy, experienced preservation ; and not having been collected to set forth the praise, either of any individual or of any society, the names of the actors are of minor importance.

As the heads of the Chapters will shew that some little arrangement is attempted, it will readily occur to the reader that the order of time could not be very strictly observed ; and he will therefore find that a few events are narrated, for the purpose of classification, *after* others, which, in fact, they preceded.

As the time will undoubtedly come—and no one can say how soon it may arrive—when the Christian principles of peace will be more generally received and acted upon in the world than they are at present ; every contribution, however small, pointing out the way in which the followers of peace have endeavoured to obey their Lord and Master's literal injunctions on this fundamental point, and commemorating the blessed effects of their obedience, may have some little weight in the balance, to determine the minds of hesitating Christians on the side of peace.

And thus, although the store may happen to be slowly collected, and the light to be very gradually diffused, an accumulation of facts and testimonies from different parts of the world, and a concentration of light from the increasing convictions of truth in different minds, employed in examining this important question, may at last be expected to work such a change of public sentiment in favour of peace, as shall establish the principle incontrovertibly, *that Christianity is altogether a religion of peace*—a system of love and goodwill to men,—whether viewed in the mode of its introduction or of its propagation, or in its principles, or in relation to the prophecies respecting it.

It was announced with the angelic song of PEACE. It was founded by the Prince of Peace. It depended so entirely on its own peaceable armour—the meekness and lamb-like disposition of its ambassadors—to overcome its enemies, that it was propagated in direct



defiance of the sword. It had so little dependence on the sword to aid its progress, that it has never made a single conquest over the minds of men, when its professed followers have used the sword in its sacred name. It inculcates those dispositions in heart and mind which can have no possible affinity with the pride of martial glory, nor concord with the turbulence of military achievements. Peace was the legacy bequeathed to his disciples by the great Head of the Church. Upon the peace-makers he pronounced his blessing. Peace was predicted to be the sign and supreme excellency of the Messiah's kingdom in the latter days on the earth : and the believer in Scripture must be assured that a time will come when there will be PERMANENT AND UNIVERSAL PEACE. All these things demonstrate that a pure Christianity is identified with a state of peace : and, surely, we have evidence enough from past history to convince the most doubting in the present day, of the great preponderance, in the scale of national glory, of peace over war ; and to prove its loveliness, its security, and its transcendent excellency.

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THE  
PRINCIPLES OF PEACE,

&c. &c.

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CHAP. I.

*Preliminary Observations on the practical Influence of Peaceable Dispositions.*

THERE are two different lights in which we may habitually regard our fellow-creatures ; either with feelings of good-will and affection, or of distrust and suspicion, as we are disposed to take a favourable view of human nature, or the contrary. According as we are influenced by one or other of these dispositions, we shall be led to attract our fellow-man towards us, or to repel him from us ; to look upon an erring brother with a degree of pity, and in a forgiving spirit, (even when he harbours the most unjust feelings respecting us,) or to place ourselves in a hostile attitude against him, even for the slightest supposed offence. It is obvious that as, by our own conduct, we *excite* the good or evil propensities of others, *so* we must expect to make ourselves liable to their effects. For if we display those dispositions which lead to wrath and envy, we must look, in the course of things, for the manifestation of similar feelings, at least from the rude and undisciplined, who are not better informed. It is in the nature of love, as it is of cruelty, to propagate its kind ; and, by our example, as well as by the immediate effect of our conduct, we make others peaceable or vindictive : these are natural consequences.

According, therefore, as we cultivate in ourselves the benevolent or malevolent affections towards others, and excite corresponding feelings in them, we may be assured, that such will be the state of society in our immediate vicinity ;—and, if we reason from the less to the greater—from our own circle to the widest

sphere of our influence — such will be our friendly or unfriendly relation to mankind universally, and consequently our influence in promoting the happiness or misery of the world.

Now, though it must be acknowledged, that the principles above stated are enforced in the clearest and strongest manner in the precepts of Christianity, and, moreover, that it is necessary the mind should be deeply imbued with the peculiar spirit of Christian love, before it can bring forth, in perfection, the fruits of peace and goodwill; yet, before the Gospel was ushered into the world, the human mind had a glimpse of the excellence and utility of these principles. For heathen philosophy has told us what ought to be the rule of human conduct, and the practice of a wise and virtuous man, when under opprobrium and wrong. It has told us that, by mildness, anger may be appeased, even as “a soft answer turns away wrath;” and that, by forbearance, animosity may be extinguished. Pythagoras, Epictetus, Plutarch, Seneca, and others, teach us many such lessons.

But it was reserved for a light, clearer than that of either Greece or Rome, to point out a surer road to peace than any of their wisest sages seem to have been capable of imagining. That light was the Gospel; that path was meekness, forgiveness of injuries, and forbearance: these duties were inculcated in the precept — To love our enemies; and to do good unto all men.

The heathen, indeed, saw something of the excellence of this principle; but did not so far anticipate Christianity as to trust their lives and fortunes to its government. Their gods were implored in danger; but idolatry vitiated their sacrifices. They knew nothing of what it was “to stand still and see the salvation of God.”

The Jews advanced a step further: when the cause was not their own, and their motive was not ambition; or when danger was at hand, and they meekly petitioned for divine aid; their enemies were scattered “like chaff before the wind,” and they found that “one could chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.” But the Jews were not practically instructed, and perhaps the spirit of the times did not permit them to be so, in the heart-softening lesson of Christian charity, *by meekness to disarm revenge*. They do not appear to have considered that one act of retaliation only prepared the way for another.

The example of Christ and his apostles, and the history of Christianity itself, afford a practical proof of the pacific efficacy of the Gospel, and of the universal love it breathes to the human family.

Thus a gradual illumination may be said to have beamed upon the world :—the light of nature and of reason ;—the outward and typical institutions of Moses ;—the inward and spiritual dispensation of Jesus Christ.

The law that resulted from the first was vague and uncertain : Socrates and Cicero had no claims to the legislative or prophetic character.

The Mosaic code was of a decided though rigid cast, partial however, and adapted to the stubborn necks of a rebellious people. The Gospel was of universal love, and as universal application ; intelligible to all, and unlimited in its range.

The first shone upon the human intellect, as through a mist ; and the learned only could perceive the signs of divine wisdom in the Law of Nature. The second struck upon the outward senses of a peculiar people ; with signs, indeed, of awe and terror, and with miraculous display of power ; in its types and ordinances shadowing out the substantial, and spiritual dispensation, which should succeed.

The last was emitted from the Sun of Righteousness himself, directly to the heart, with transcendently glorious manifestations of divine love to the human family. This last dispensation has in itself, therefore, the means of accomplishing that for which it was designed—Peace on earth : and, do we still wait for something more perfect than we have yet received ? “ Art thou He that should come, or look we for another ? ”

Now, whatever virtue it is incumbent upon a good man to be always practising, *that* ought to be the governing principle of every human society, from the contracted circles of families and neighbourhoods, to the enlarged sphere of countries and kingdoms. For, all mankind is of one blood : and there is not one code for individuals and another code for associations, either of few or many. In respect to moral laws, there is not one code for the prince, and another for the people. All men are equally bound by the duties of religion. Christian virtue can no more be bent from its firm and upright attitude, to suit the petty views of the

cunning and malicious, or even the specious views of political expediency, than the main pillar of a temple can be bent from its perpendicular, without endangering the ruin of the whole edifice. If the proposition be true, that Peace is a blessing, and War is a curse, the motives and the causes of the one must be of a character directly opposite to the motives and causes of the other; and, in so far as human agency is concerned in promoting either, the blessing will belong to the peacemaker or the curse to the violent. The elements of Peace are in their nature and operation supremely virtuous; the elements of war highly vicious. There is nothing of seeming contempt which can rob the first of its excellence, nor of gorgeous display which can hide the deformity of the last, and confer upon it real glory. By what perverted modes of thinking, then, is it, that a practice, which has even acquired the name of an art, and has proved an engine of destruction to so many millions of the human race, should continue to be trimmed with honours, and idolized with praises? We might reasonably wonder at the circumstance, if we did not on all sides perceive, that man, paradoxically enough, follows the evil which he abhors, and pursues his present, with infinitely more ardour than he does his future, good. That, in the case of War, he should be encouraged, by some wise and good men, to reconcile to reason and justice the indulgence of his malevolent feelings, is cause of still greater wonder, and certainly of deep lamentation.

For, notwithstanding the force of these principles,—in which, it is expected, most will be agreed, at least in theory,—when we come to consider the actual state of man, and the prevalence of evil in the world, we shall find that many specious arguments have been adduced against the practical adoption of the principles of Peace. It has been objected, that nations could not exist without War, — that the wicked would overwhelm the good, and, although it may be a deplorable, that it is still a necessary evil. Hence, even among the professors of Christianity, self-preservation, which is called the first law of nature, justice, and even necessity, have been urged, separately and unitedly, as affording unanswerable reasons for maintaining the attitude, and proceeding to the extremity, of War.

In our reasonings on this subject, it will be assumed, that the contention between individuals, like that between states, arises from

the same principles ; and that the same arguments will apply to both cases.

The plea of Self-defence, of Justice, and of Necessity will be considered in order.

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#### PLEA OF SELF-DEFENCE.

Self-defence, it must be allowed, offers a plausible argument in favour of active resistance with the sword. It is, however, an argument which would apply to animals devoid of reason, better than to man, who is supereminently styled Rational. It is even opposed by the analogy of nature ; for, in strict unison with the moral state of man, while, in some of its phenomena, nature exhibits what are called physical evils, in other words, disorder and imperfection,—yet, in others, she displays the signs of most perfect physical beauty and harmony, and of a workmanship eminently divine. If there be any thing in such an analogy, it is against the argument, taking the different circumstances of man and the brute into consideration : for brutes do not war against their own kinds, as was observed formerly by Juvenal. And again, those animals which are designed to make prey of others for their support, are formed with offensive weapons : while, on the other hand, their prey are provided with natural means of escape or resistance. But the human family is not divided in this way, into some naturally armed and ferocious, and into others naturally unarmed and gentle. We observe indeed that mankind is distinguished into those endowed with physical, and those with moral power. But these distinctions are more or less the effect of education and outward circumstances. In all ages, however, the moral or intellectual endowments of man, have had superiority over the physical, when the energies of the former have been brought into full play ; and, in the unerring scale of justice, it has been provided, that the moral influence and virtues of the good, should be a sufficient counter-balance to the physical influence and vices of the bad.

We must conclude, therefore, that if the wise and good are reduced to the necessity of taking a part in any dispute, they are not to take the part which will increase it, but that which will allay it ;

as, in this way only, can harmony be at last attained. We conclude, that, if contests must needs arise, the only justifiable *warfare* in which the wise and good can engage, is that of moral influence against brute violence ; in short, that good dispositions are to be opposed to evil—benevolent affections to malevolent—the principles of Peace to the principles of War.

The argument for self-defence, by means of deadly weapons, assumes, in its very principles, that man should always be armed against his fellow-man, and that brute force is superior to reason : consequently, that a rational being is not to be convinced and persuaded and reconciled ; but that, when offering violence, he is with summary vengeance to be overthrown by violence and put to death, like one of the inferior animals. Now, it is a state of things highly unbecoming to the dignity of rational creatures, — we say *the dignity* when we speak of those, who are upon the Lord's earth setting an example to others both of the excellency of virtue, and of the superiority of moral to physical acquirements—it is highly derogatory to the character of moral and intellectual beings, that they should go about armed with destructive weapons, in dread of each other. Even a Roman Poet says :

“ Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus  
Non eget Mauri jaculis, neque arcu.”

The man of blameless life, and pure in heart,  
Needs not the bow, nor venom'd Moorish dart.

It may, indeed, be said, that the first aggressor forfeits the claim and character of man, and, therefore, that he ought to be treated like the brute. But that would be to say, that he, who is urged to an act of violence in his defence, would also be justified in laying aside the attributes of reason, and assuming those of the brute, because his fellow-creature so far deviated from the line of rationality as to set him the example ; it would be a plea for the degradation of reason, not for its ascendancy. Man is superior to the brute, not by his physical but by his moral energies ; and it would be a low distinction if one man did not excel another by the same moral energies. Therefore, if physical energies are put forth on one side, moral energies are to be employed on the other. It is not that the great and wise and good should come down to the level of the mean and ignorant and depraved, so as to contend for



superiority with the weapons chosen by the latter ; but it is to be considered a contest of virtue, honour, justice, integrity, benevolence, and order, with vice, infamy, wrong, deceit, violence, and confusion. Who can doubt, where such elements are fairly in opposition, to which side Providence will ultimately give the victory ?\*

But when a human being, profligate and depraved, knows that society is all up in arms, and that cruel and vindictive laws are in operation against him, he will brave the worst, with the nerve and desperation of one, who has never tasted the milk of human kindness from any of his fellow-creatures, nor seen a tear of pity and compassion flowing for his sake. And so it is, when the worse part of society are persuaded, that if they encounter the better part, they will be resisted with violence, and if possible put to death ; they will naturally prepare themselves with weapons of destruction, and brace their nerves to cruelty ; because they feel a conviction, that those who would take their lives *if they could*, are brought more to a level, in *spirit and intention*, with themselves. If they were persuaded, on the contrary, that the better part would not resist them to the last extremity, it is most probable that, whatever might be their object, they would rarely attack any one with bloody designs. When it can be shewn that men, taken collectively or individually, can neither be brought to listen to reason, nor to humanity, nor to religion ; and that reason, humanity, and religion, have exhausted their power against violence, without effect, — when it can be shewn that they pay no respect to the innocent, peaceable, virtuous and benevolent ; then, indeed, the plea of self-defence, if for no other end, yet for the sake of maintaining social and moral order, might be admitted to have some weight.

We are however disposed to think — though it is a question somewhat abstruse and difficult to meddle with — that the proposition is founded in truth, that it is not wholly by physical influence, such as an armed police or a military force, that civil order is maintained, even in heathen communities. If this should prove

\* In hujusmodi certamine ac prælio, nonne, *etiam si hominum deficient*, Dii ipsi immortales cogent ab his præclarissimis virtutibus, tot et tanta vitia superari ? *Cicero*.—In such a conflict between good and evil, *even if human efforts should be wanting*, would not the immortal gods themselves interfere to prevent these eminent virtues being overcome by such an array of antagonist vices ?

to be the case, is it credible that in Christian societies, *right* should depend upon *might* to secure its ascendancy? It is the common opinion, we know, that it is physical influence alone which enforces subordination, and supports the rights of justice; and it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to convince the majority that this is not the case. For so long as the views, and hopes, and reasonings of men are outward, they will not rely upon providential assistance or moral influence, even in the conscientious discharge of their duty, nor will they admit it into their calculations.

When, indeed, the frame of civil society has been for a long time leaning upon outward weapons for its support, its integrity appears to be identified with them; so that to take them away would seem to unhinge the whole structure, and to expose it to certain ruin. If a question, therefore, as to its preservation in this state, should arise, probably no prudent man would recommend an immediate change to an opposite state. For, unless the whole movements of the social system, should at the same time be regulated by a truly Christian spirit, half measures would be injurious: (as any adulteration of that which is pure, with that which is not so, both in principle and practice, is sure to rob the first of its essential characters;) and would produce worse consequences than seem to await schemes *entirely* constructed on principles of outward expediency, which have no relation at all to a future state of retribution.

But, notwithstanding this admission—(and it is by no means to be understood as any concession in favour of violence)—whatever aid physical power may contribute to the maintenance of civil order, *in societies whose institutions are not all established on a basis of true wisdom, after the Christian model*, there is reason to think that it is the ascendancy of moral influence, after all, which mainly supports the fabric, and that the great bulwarks of civil order rest on a firmer foundation than any outward visible means of defence.

If physical influence constituted the only means of maintaining civil order, evil-doers would plainly have the advantage, as to their physical strength; because the disposition to violence is more universal in the world than the disposition to peace and forbearance. Upon the principle therefore that the greatest amount of physical force ought to maintain an ascendancy in human affairs, violence and outrage should prevail, so as to subvert all laws, both divine and human.

But there is no human society, which subsists in such a state of anarchy. Therefore, there are other principles than those of violence and outrage, which operate in the human mind to prevent it.

For, what else should restrain the multitude of evil-doers, from rising against the good, and supporting the law of vice and the dominion of violence? It is certain that physical power would be in their hands to effect these objects, if some moral checks did not prevent them.

Surely, these checks are, the natural feelings of the heart coëval with the first impressions of right and wrong, the reverence of law and justice, the natural sense of religion, and the consciousness that all the better feelings of mankind, as well as their own secret convictions, would be in array against them, if they should be profligate enough to make the attempt.

It is not the fear of those punishments which are inflicted by the law, as was observed by Cicero, that alone restrains the violent. If this were the only feeling, violence would soon be triumphant over law.

Law maintains its ascendancy, because it is founded in justice; and justice is formidable to the wicked, because it is an institution of the Deity, from the force and sensible obligation of which no man can free his mind, except by a series of gradations in vice, and by reiterated acts of disobedience.

The Almighty, therefore, has himself appointed the checks, which, we may presume, will for ever prevent the universal dominion of vice over virtue.

As to the argument for self-defence then, little, upon the Christian scheme, can be said in its support. For, even if we surrender the principle of good-will, which ought to bind every disciple of a benevolent Lord, the Christian Religion requires that all its followers should have their daily supplies from the Captain of their Salvation; and that in all their wants they should derive their sufficiency from Him alone,—in all their perils should seek his aid, in all their afflictions, his spiritual consolation. It can scarcely be necessary to say, that the strength of the true Christian is the ability with which he may be endowed by his Divine Master, either to think, to speak, or to act. He has no *independent* existence. In Him he lives and moves and has his being. He has no might of

his own — certainly none that will ever avail him, to encounter the powers of darkness, which are his only enemies, with effect.

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#### PLEA OF JUSTICE.

Justice is either relative or absolute. According to the diversity of human laws, every community may have its peculiar notions of justice—and this is relative; there is, notwithstanding, a principle of justice, which is fixed on an immutable foundation, and applies to an unerring standard. Every act of aggression on life or property implies injustice; and as injustice ought to be punished, it must be lawful to prevent it, so far as man is clearly commissioned with authority to do so from his Maker. The Greeks, while they differed among themselves, had notions of justice differing in some respects from those of the Romans. Both, like the Persians, Indians, and Chinese, formed their systems of jurisprudence from the light of nature. Wrong, and outrage, therefore, have been restrained and punished, according to the notions of natural justice in different countries, unenlightened by divine laws. Now, the divine laws from which justice has emanated, have been varied, for wise purposes, in different ages and dispensations to man, as it has pleased the divine Author to promulgate either a *Law of Fear*, or a *Law of Love*.—And the institutions of Christianity, being founded on the latter law, are more merciful than the institutions of Moses, who was commissioned with the former. Therefore the law of love should be *fundamentally* “part and parcel of the laws” and institutions of every Christian government. If these laws of Christianity are not in themselves adequate to the support and order of Christian states, then Christ came into the world to propose a system of rules inapplicable to human society. But the latter supposition cannot for a moment be entertained, and therefore we must reject the former, and conclude, that the merciful institutions of Christianity are in themselves abundantly adequate to the support and order of Christian states. In all that concerned inward purity of heart, and every avenue that might lead to defilement, a stricter discipline was imposed upon the Christian than upon the Jew; but in all that concerned the use of outward forms and ceremonies, the Christian was released from a heavy yoke

which was laid upon the Jew. So, then, the harsher code of the Jew has been superseded by the milder code of the Christian. Now, as for the most part, it was the law of retaliation which measured judgment to the Hebrew transgressor, and justice to him that was injured ; so it is, for the most part, the law of mercy which is appointed to administer justice between Christians. Beyond this, every act of undue severity, either of individuals or of society, against offenders, is a violation of the precepts of Christianity, and, so far an act of injustice, and of rebellion against its merciful government ; whatever excuses may be made as of expediency and necessity, on the score of civil order. When the professed upholders of Christian law wilfully transgress its precepts, on the presumption that these are too weak to bind the lawless, they themselves give to the world a most pernicious example of practical unbelief. And their example is not lost ; for infidelity openly points at the inconsistency, and rails at these benign institutions for their supposed inefficacy, which the Christian senator has not the courage to act upon and to enforce, though he is ready to boast of their supreme authority.

Christ, the Divine Lawgiver, was not merely satisfied to have the *conduct* exempt from the guilt of any gross immorality ; he required the *heart* also to be free from stain. Hence he contrasted those capital offences, that were already denounced in the Jewish code, with the first buddings of unlawful desire, from which they sprung ; and therefore struck at the root, by forbidding even the least appearance of evil in the heart itself to be encouraged. The Jewish law commanded : Thou shalt not *kill*.—The Christian : Thou shalt not even be *angry* with thy brother. The Jewish law says : Thou shalt not commit adultery.—The Christian : Thou shalt not be guilty in this respect *even so far as thought or desire*. The Jewish law adjudges, “ an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.”—The Christian enjoins, that men shall not resist evil, either when wronged in person or property ; *i. e.* smitten on the cheek or despoiled of a garment. The Jewish law commands : Thou shalt not forswear thyself.—The Christian : Swear not at all ; but let your affirmation and negation be yea and nay. And lastly, the Jewish law permitted men to hate their enemies — those who were the enemies of God and Righteousness.—But the Christian says, in the spirit of Peace : “ Love your enemies,”—adding, “ for if ye love them that love you, what reward

have ye ?” For, Christians should be in spirit bounteous and merciful to the whole human family, like the Father of all, “ who sends his rain on the just as well as on the unjust.”

Now, it is certain that, at the same time, and in the same precepts, in which Christ laid down for his followers a stricter path to walk in than Moses had appointed for the Jews, he relaxed the severity of penal ordinances: for, while he omitted nothing which might lead the obedient disciples onward to perfection, he was silent upon every thing that might seem to warrant the exercise of severity against sinners; because his office was not to punish sin in the repentant sinner, but *to take it wholly away*; and even when the woman convicted of a capital offence was brought before him for judgment, he gave a memorable lesson to modern legislators; *Let him that is without sin cast the first stone.* If, therefore, we may take our notions of justice from the spirit of Christ’s precepts, it has nothing vindictive in its character: vengeance belongs only to “ the Judge of quick and dead.”

Hence, if Christian justice be the rule and guide of human councils—and it ought to be so, for every follower of Christ should obey his precepts and cultivate the same spirit—it can give no sanction to war and contention, or to any sort of penal retribution from man, *except that which leads to the correction of vice and to repentance.* Christian justice, being in itself complete, and the very perfection of moral administration in the world, is in all respects identified with, and cannot be separated from, Divine justice. There is no human being, nor any assemblage of human beings, professing Christianity, who, by law or ordinance, can justly authorise an act which is not founded on the principles of Christian justice. These principles, being merciful, must be obeyed, if men would look for mercy from their Maker, however hard the necessity of the case may seem to those who are injured.

Now, unless the rulers of Christian states can prove themselves to be duly commissioned with a special mandate of the Almighty, to execute his sovereign will against transgressors, by some violent penal chastisement, they cannot consistently plead that they have the sanction of Christian justice. For, if they acknowledge that they do not act under this influence and with this divine authority, any other justice, to which they may appeal and lay claim, whether

Jewish or heathen, will neither recommend the tribunal by which it is administered, in the sight of men, as a Christian tribunal, nor will it call down the divine blessing, which was pronounced by the Saviour of the world upon the merciful.

We have an example of Christian jurisprudence in practical operation, in the early history of Pennsylvania: and it appears that the constable's staff was found to be sufficient, both to command the respect of the people, and to enforce the execution of the criminal laws, without sword or musket.

This argument, therefore, gives no countenance to the idea, that all good men may not lawfully co-operate to preserve peace and order, and to restrain the violent, as they would restrain those who are devoid of reason. But it insists on the condition, that, in so doing, they carry with them neither the temper nor the instruments of violence. There is not in the universe a greater coward than the man, who is guilty of some flagitious crime, and sees the indignation of the good on all sides roused against him:—"The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth." And there is not, on the contrary, any one more truly bold than the good man, who goes forth unarmed, confiding in God and his integrity, against the weapons of the cruel;—"The righteous is bold as a lion."

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#### PLEA OF NECESSITY.

The word necessity, when applied to the moral conduct of free agents, implies nothing more than duty, and in the case of War, it involves two considerations: First, the duty of preserving our existence; and secondly, obedience to moral or divine requisition.

It is plain, that in all cases in which these duties may seem to interfere, the former must yield to the latter. For, under the Christian dispensation, the promise or assurance of immortal felicity to all who obey the divine commands, cuts off the justification that would lean upon self-preservation as a paramount duty; and by making *temporal* concerns of little account in the scale, whether they be possessions, privileges, rights, or the endearments of kindred, it enhances the value of the *eternal*, and therefore exacts unconditional

submission to the divine law. If these principles did not hold, no man would ever have been a martyr to the convictions of his conscience.

Necessity cannot surely imply that when life appears to be in danger, every other consideration is to be set aside in order to preserve it. This is not the doctrine of Scripture: it is not even the doctrine of heathen philosophy.

It was an old saying among those who were but partially enlightened respecting a future state, *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*:—*Let man do his duty, whatever extremity may happen*; and it was consistently held that, in some cases, when pressed by violence, men ought rather to surrender their lives, than submit to any act of turpitude or ignominy, for the sake of prolonging their existence. So, then, the preservation of life was not to be regarded as the only end and object of rational beings. For, virtue required that life itself should be undervalued, when placed in competition with duty and true honour. If a man were reduced to the supposed necessity of telling a falsehood to save his life, would he be justified in violating the truth, when he felt persuaded that there is a God in heaven to reward the upright? If he were reduced to the supposed necessity of killing another to save himself, would he be justified in breaking the Christian injunction, “not to resist evil,” when he entertained a religious confidence that mercy would hereafter be extended to all that show mercy?

But it might happen, as it often has happened, that the necessity of violent resistance might not be real, and that, in the very crisis of alarm, by some unforeseen incident, life might be preserved with honour. How lamentable, then, must be the reflection to a Christian, that by yielding to revenge he had cut off a fellow-creature in the midst of his crimes, who, by a little kindness and persuasion from an enemy, might have been made a friend, and who, by means of salutary discipline, might have been turned from a course of wickedness to a state of acceptance with his Maker.

The argument which supports the necessity of force being opposed to force, assumes, that nations or individuals being threatened, and life, or liberty, or property being in consequence endangered, arms must be resorted to for the purpose of affording protection:



therefore, that those who meditate or offer violence, are to be resisted with violence, as a matter of course, and, if possible, put to death.

Now, who is competent to judge of the necessity and the danger, supposing the plea to be admitted? Is he who is impelled by fear or anger? or the sensitive politician who weaves his web at every court, and is tremblingly alive to each of its vibrations? or is the weaker state when threatened by the stronger the more competent judge?

There is no one, surely, more unfit for judging dispassionately of what is right to be done in cases of imminent peril than the fearful. Fear pictures imaginary dangers. It excludes all reliance upon Providence. It therefore moves the mind from the settled resting-place of fortitude, in which it is best prepared to meet and to overcome danger by moral intrepidity. Hence fear ought not to govern a rational being in the midst of peril, either as a motive or a guide. What has the man of integrity to fear?

With respect to the quick and headlong impulse of anger, he that seeks to attain any rational end, while under its influence, instead of waiting for a calm, "puts to sea in the violence of a storm." As the instinctive principles which comprehend the appetites and desires must be restrained, so nothing is more true than that moral and intellectual beings are not to suffer the animal principle of resentment to hurry them indiscriminately and without deliberation into action.

If it be said that in well-disciplined armies the impulse is neither that of fear nor anger, but that of military duty, and therefore to them these strictures do not apply: we admit the objection so far as it refers to armies as instruments. But the case is widely different with those who make use of them. The soldier being reduced by a voluntary act, to the state of passive obedience, makes a conscience of submitting his will in every thing to that of his superior; whether he be commanded to shoot his fellow-soldier, or to destroy his enemy and burn his habitation, or to seize the property of his countrymen, or to expose his own life to certain destruction: and if he conscientiously believes this duty to be paramount, far be it from us to condemn him. We have not to do with the different degrees of light in the minds of men, but with the light of Scripture—the clear and explicit commands of Christ. When

it can be proved from these, that a man *may resist evil, may pursue his revenge with the sword, may hate his enemy and take away his life*, then we will give up the argument. But we think there would be more honesty in avowing that the yoke of Christian discipline is too hard for us to bear, than in attempting to reconcile the duty of forbearance with revenge, the love of our enemies with their destruction, and the peaceful character with the warlike.

The Christian law has respect to the highest degree of human excellence: it admits no inferior standard of virtue: it will have men to be Christians in deed and in truth. It does not insist upon precise conformity in some, and allow partial conformity in others, merely because the latter choose a path for themselves not quite so straight. There is but one pattern of excellence proposed to all for imitation. All may fall short in degree: but no man is allowed to content himself with a relaxed discipline, or to fix any inferior rule. If so, the rule might vary in every community; and at last the conqueror might be esteemed more noble than the martyr; and the warlike Mahomet be set up as a more worthy example for men to follow than the peaceful Messiah.

Whatever allowance therefore may be made in the case of the hired soldier; to those at the helm of Christian states, as lawgivers and counsellors, who send him upon his commission, and give the impulse to his movements, the same indulgence cannot, upon Christian principles, be extended. Whether these may call it honour or national independence, for which they have recourse to arms, it cannot be doubted that the real motives for organizing armies, arise from fear, jealousy, or resentment.

Now these are motives which ought not to enter into the mind of a Christian, much less to influence his conduct. With respect indeed to resentment, it would be more creditable at least to humanity, that men should go forward to the work of death under this animal influence,—because brute passion extinguishes for the time what is generous and amiable,—than under the factitious and delusive influence of any other principle which has acquired a specious name among men, and which seems to permit the growth of good and evil together, one of the most dangerous kinds of union, because they are then so apt to be confounded, such as honour, glory, and love of country. Human nature, the more it is refined

and enlightened, the more it ought to possess of the milk of human kindness, and the less of a thirst for blood. True honour, true glory, true love of country, if the terms were rightly understood, would effectually restrain the inhabitants of any nation, who knew their real interests, from engaging in conflicts that must tend unavoidably to demoralize their countrymen, to waste their strength and resources, and to subject themselves to reprisals from their enemies. But honour, glory, and love of country, by means of capricious and false associations, which artfully cover a deformity that could not be endured if the veil were removed, have long been prostituted to ends alike derogatory to reason, and abhorrent from the meek spirit of Christianity, and cannot therefore in any way be supposed to exalt the dignity of human nature. If military glory could have this effect, the world ought to be used as a great arena on which contending armies should be perpetually struggling for the support and exercise of the *military virtues*; and not be (as Christians profess it should be) a theatre for the display of benevolence, the diffusion of knowledge, the propagation of truth, the improvement and happiness of the human race, and the universal spread of peace and righteousness.

Some of the cases of presumed necessity, which have been urged by politicians, for embroiling two nations in war, are almost calculated to excite a smile—if it were possible to excite a smile on such a subject. The reasons have been so puerile, and the causes of difference so easy to have been removed by a little mutual concession, that it is marvellous that any stress should have been laid on such pretended justifications; for these are seen by the dispassionate observers at a distance, in their true light, as unworthy of the least consideration, in the scale of humanity and true national glory. The sensitive jealousy of politicians towards rival nations is always rankling as in a state of feverish excitement. To them, “trifles light as air” are strong confirmations of intended coolness and hostility. They raise the phantom and they pursue it. Hence a political necessity for war has been urged, on account of an obsolete claim of some insignificant portion of territory, or an alleged insult offered to a flag or an ambassador, or a breach of some state punctilio, or the exclusive monopoly of some article of commerce, or some private pique between rulers or ministers, or the fancied

undue preponderance in the scale of balanced power, or some other of the many bubbles blown by secret ambition, and constantly floating in the fluctuating element of diplomatic intrigue. It is manifest that every one of these causes could really have no more to do with *necessity* than the appearance of a comet: which, in times of superstition, it was imagined, *did* exert some *necessary* influence in producing war.

——— “The Comet from its flaming hair  
Shakes down diseases, pestilence and war.

*Pope's Homer.*

When a weak state is menaced by one that is powerful, there is *prima facie* a strong justification for taking up arms to defend what are called its Rights. The cause is supposed to be one which Heaven must approve. The love of liberty, natural to man, awakes enthusiasm; the God of justice is invoked in aid of the enterprise: and, as if to encourage and embolden, the secret prayers of the friends of civil liberty in all countries, *who look at the object without regarding the means*, are put up for its success. And what are the usual consequences? As if the Almighty Controller of human events designed to shew his creature man, that in this age of the world, it is not by savage contention that the ends of his sovereign justice should be attained in the earth,—the weak state is overthrown: wickedness is triumphant; thousands perhaps are slain; and the remainder reduced to a condition far more abject and degraded than if they had submitted peaceably to the aggression, with no other appearance of resistance than that moral sting which an unoffending and peaceable state throws against its adversary, when it protests firmly and energetically, with reason and justice on its side, against wanton and unprincipled aggression. In so hard a case as the latter, as human nature is constituted, the very agents would be ashamed of the commission they had undertaken; and they would be disposed, as far as lay in their power, to lessen the weight of oppression upon the innocent, instead of adding to the burden.

Of all the reasonings in favour of the use of arms, there is none which comes home more closely to flesh and blood, or is more triumphantly urged against the disciple of peace, than that which supposes the circumstance of a civil war, and of a murderer at our

own houses. In civil wars, it is well known that violence, as in the contentions of kindred, rages with unnatural fury ; for men will bear oppression from strangers better than from their own countrymen ; so that he who professes to be neutral, instead of being regarded as a friend, is commonly looked upon as an enemy by both parties.

And when the peace of a family circle is invaded, and instant destruction seems to be impending over our dearest connexions, all that is human within us is roused by the argument in question, to justify the immediate attempt to destroy the guilty for the purpose of defending the innocent.

Abstractedly viewing the two cases, there could scarcely be a difference of opinion respecting the course a man of common worldly prudence would adopt.

In the one case he would connect himself with one side or the other, as well to secure his safety as to fulfil what he might consider a point of duty. In the other he would obey the impulse of his sensitive nature, and would pursue the first bent of his mind, not only in resisting the meditated wrong, but in taking away the life of his opponent. With those to whom this world is every thing, and father, mother, wife, children, friends, riches, possessions, privileges, and life, are dearer than the cross of Christ, with the promises of a blessed immortality annexed, it is perfectly clear that it would be nugatory to argue in this matter. But with any who place their hopes in heaven, and their reliance upon Providence, and who would rather surrender the object most dear to them than violate the least of the commands of the Prince of Peace, a momentary inquiry at least might be admitted :—

Will heaven, indeed, permit the arm of violence to rob me, when obeying the commands of Christ, of my friends or property, and perhaps my life ? And shall I obey his commands by pursuing my enemy even to death ? by hurrying an assassin to the grave in the midst of his crime, who may possibly become my friend, and sincerely repent of his wicked design ? Shall I resist the violent on his own ground, with his own weapons, and on his own principles—those of violence ? If I do, how then is the standard of peace to be supported in the world ? How is the example of Christ himself imitated and recommended to others by such conduct ?

If the first impulse is right and must be obeyed, these questions

are not appropriate; but if these questions strike the sincere Christian with any weight, and cannot be answered without serious misgivings, it is most probable that the first impulse is wrong, or, at least, that it is to be restrained by a higher principle.

After all, therefore, that can be said on either side, we must at last come to this question, whether the Lord's devoted followers, the peacemakers on whom Christ pronounced his blessing—(not Christians by name and tradition only, not those who would cement the interests of two worlds together which are incompatible)—are to rely upon Divine Providence in their extremity, or on the use of means which seem directly to involve a breach of the laws of Christ, and to foster the indulgence of propensities entirely opposed to the enlargement of his peaceful kingdom. It is impossible to argue the case upon Christian principles, without distinct reference to the immediate care of providence: for unless this be taken for granted, all human reasoning is against the principles we defend. If this be admitted, with those proper limitations which man's free agency requires, the cause of truth and innocence and justice must be the cause of God himself, and defensible only by moral weapons. He that proceeds to violence in the support of moral order, usurps the sceptre of the Sovereign Ruler, and employs the thunder, and the earthquake, and the flood, and the lightning, against his fellow-creature. But there is this essential difference: in the hands of the Almighty the elemental conflict is succeeded by a state of calm, and it contributes to some good natural design, bringing things into harmony; whereas, in the hands of man, when he attempts to wield the instruments of vengeance, in other words, of physical power, against his enemy, whatever calm may ensue, it is not the quiet of harmony, but of smothered hate, ready, on the first slight occasion, to burst into fury. In the one case there is only a deformity of the natural world, which is slight and transient and salutary in its effects; in the other a state of moral disorder, which the conflict does not terminate, but aggravates by producing heart-burnings and misery, and various forms of moral evil. For it must be confessed, that war puts in operation a more demoralizing, inhuman, and unchristian machinery, than was ever devised by the perverted ingenuity of man. Its causes and its effects go hand in hand, and like the tree and its fruits, betray their near affinity. On

one side we may see the lust of dominion and of military fame, with its aspiring notions: on the other, fear and revenge, with its low degrading passions, all alike antichristian, entering into the motives.

As to the effects, we shall scarcely err in affirming that few conquerors ever yet returned from battle, without some secret stings of conscience, nor armies, without more or less moral corruption; nor has any nation ever withdrawn itself from a contest without paying a severe and bloody price for all its victories. Cicero would not have declared that *he preferred the most unjust and disadvantageous peace to the justest war*—"Inquissimam pacem justissimo bello antefero"—if his experience had not proved this to be the case. It cannot be doubted that he deduced this conclusion from facts more than from theory. And Tacitus, another enlightened Roman, takes it for granted as a thing in itself obvious,—*that it was infinitely better for a nation to cultivate peace than to perplex itself with war*—"Quis ignorat satius ac melius esse pace frui quam bello vexari?" It is not to be supposed that heathen statesmen would have established principles like these in direct opposition to fact and expediency. How strong, then, must be the ground taken by the Christian statesman in advocating peace, when he finds that the principles of that religion which was sent to lead human nature to its highest perfection, confirm the practical conclusions of the wise heathen! No man can be so bold as to argue that any one of the precepts of Christ, or any part of his conduct, can be construed into a direct or indirect vindication of war. On the other hand, the positive injunctions to maintain peace, and to subdue the elements of war, are numerous and unequivocal. And the same thing may be said of the Apostles, with the casual exception of Peter, who met with a signal reproof at the time, strong enough to establish the law of peace for ever: "Put up thy sword into the sheath: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

It has therefore been discovered by experience, (and experience is in unison with the pure doctrines of Christianity,) that there are principles of human conduct—principles opposed to brute violence in all its forms—whose operation is so powerful, that while they prove a support to the innocent, by turning them to an Almighty Protector, they soften the fury of their oppressors, and frequently change it into admiration: so that these oppressors cannot but observe the

contrast between the self-protecting armour of piety, and the desolating instruments of cruelty.

It is a fact of not unfrequent occurrence, that, when things have been brought to the most critical juncture, and, according to human apprehension, death or bondage has been inevitable, those, who have been enabled to trust with meekness in Divine help, have experienced wonderful preservation. And, on the contrary, how many examples are there of those, who have resisted violence by violence, falling victims ! So that, active resistance, it would appear, often defeats its end : while non-resistance, accompanied with suitable dispositions, has the immediate effect of disarming ferocity, and suspending the meditated blow. It is not necessary to look far into human nature to explain the theory of these moral phenomena. But it is time that Christian statesmen should know, and that they should act upon the conviction, that the system of Christianity contains the profoundest principles of philosophy as well as of Divine truth ; and that so far from being visionary in their application, these principles are of the highest practical utility, at all times and under all circumstances : and happy are they who have faith to put them in practice, whether as individuals or as nations.

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The preceding observations are made with a view to prepare the reader's mind for the following narrative, and to illustrate the nature and operation of the principles of Peace ; and the events are recorded for the purpose of showing, by well-authenticated facts, how a Christian Society, professing and acting upon these principles, conducted itself in the afflicting crisis of civil warfare ; when many individuals and families of this Society, from time to time, found themselves at the mercy, and, at least outwardly, in the power, of some of the most undisciplined of their fellow-creatures.

It is supposed that facts will have greater influence in convincing the judgment, than reasonings however clear, or precepts however highly sanctioned.

The first class of incidents about to be recorded, relates to the peculiar trials experienced by some members of the Society, in the county of Wexford, the principal theatre of contention in the South, in consequence of their determination to take no part in war, as



well as to the manner in which they were preserved. The next relates to the threats and dangers to which they were subjected, for the firmness and faithfulness with which they endeavoured to discharge the important duty of religious worship, and to the way in which these threats were defeated. A third class, to which the reader's attention will be directed, refers to the trials, connected in some degree with the last, arising from the refusal of many individuals to conform to the ceremonies of the Romish church, which exposed them, in the circle of their families, as well as abroad, to the danger of instant death. And the fourth class will embrace a more comprehensive range of incident relating to the Society, in other parts of the country which were the scenes of commotion.

In every place, it will appear, that the same principles of conduct produced effects of a similar description.

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## CHAP. II.

### *State of the Society of Friends, previous to, and during the Rebellion.*

It is generally known that an objection to take part in War, in any shape, forms one of the tenets of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers. This objection is purely religious, and is founded upon what they conceive to be the spirit of the Gospel dispensation, as it is illustrated in the precepts of Christ and his Apostles, and exemplified in their practice. They consider that it must follow as a necessary consequence, that a religion breathing peace and good-will to men, cannot, in any case, be supported by the spirit of War. They believe that, on the contrary, the practice of this evil, among the professors of Christianity, has tended, more than any other circumstance, to prevent its propagation in the world, to tarnish its excellency in the eyes of Jews and Pagans, and to confirm their speculative and practical errors. As it was not by the secular arm, but, in direct opposition to the sword, that it insinuated itself into the minds of men, and was first promulgated; so they believe, that its final establishment in the nations of the earth will be effected through the medium of the softening influence of its pacific spirit, and by the glorious example of peace and concord among its followers.

In the year 1798, the state of Ireland afforded a striking occasion to the members of this Society, who are scattered abroad in different parts of that kingdom, to put the efficacy of their peaceful principles to the test. It is, however, to be presumed, that, even if outward preservation had not been experienced, they who conscientiously take the maxims of Peace for the rule of their conduct, would hold it not less their duty to conform to these principles: because the reward of such as endeavour to act in obedience to their Divine Master's will, is not always to be looked for in the present life. While, therefore, the fact of their outward preservation would be no sufficient argument to themselves that they had acted as they ought to act in such a crisis, it affords a striking lesson to those who will take no principle, that has not been verified by experience, for a rule of human conduct, even if it should have the sanction of Divine authority.

When a kingdom is divided in itself, it is difficult for any to remain neutral. Either the passions of human nature, by the influence of many private and public bonds, will be pressed to a near union with one of the contending parties; or the Christian principle of universal charity must operate, uniformly and powerfully, in maintaining a dignified and amicable relation with all. It is therefore necessary to subdue the natural propensity which we feel to imbibe the fears, hopes, wishes, and prejudices of our neighbour, to bear his reproach for our seeming apathy, and in this way to clear the avenue of the mind from the seeds of contention, that in reality, as well as by profession, we may be followers of Peace.

Whatever secret and slowly-operating causes might have conspired to produce the Rebellion of 1798, it is certain that different objects were proposed by two great classes of the insurgents. By some, civil liberty—a specious pretence in all ages to the warm and enterprising,—by others, uniformity in religious faith—an imposing object to the dark and bigoted, were held up as justifiable reasons for erecting the standard of sedition, and plunging their native country into the horrors of a civil war. The members of a Society which neither united with the political nor the religious views of these factious bands, might naturally be looked upon with suspicion by both; at least, they were not likely to be considered as friends; and, as a part of the community, which did not exert itself actively in aiding the power it was bound, in all cases of purely civil obligation, to

obey, in order to suppress a rebellion, the motives and objects of which it could not possibly approve, the Society, in its relation to the government, seemed to manifest but a spurious loyalty. It was in fact openly charged, not only with a dereliction of its civil duties, but with a tacit reliance upon its neighbours, to step forward in the defence of rights and privileges, in which it was as much interested as others. Hence, whatever forbearance the government itself was disposed to exercise towards the Society, the professed loyalists, as they were termed, regarded its members in no more favourable light than as drones, unwilling to work, and ready to feed upon the honey supplied by the industrious bees. Whether some individuals who, having the name, were but little bound to the principles of the Society, might not have deserved this imputation, is not a matter of much moment. For, were the question to be decided in the affirmative, the censure could neither lessen the value of the principles themselves, nor affect the general character of the body in its conscientious support of these principles.

These were a few of the critical circumstances in which the Society of Friends was placed at this period, when private individuals belonging to it were engaged to lift up the standard of peace to their contending countrymen, and, with few exceptions, enabled to preserve a remarkable consistency on this memorable occasion. Many of these were separated at a considerable distance from each other, very often without an earthly counsellor to flee to, and therefore deprived of any other refuge than the light and law of God in their own hearts.

Long before the rising, a spirit of contention was working in the minds of the people; opposed factions were increasing their numbers, and marking out friends and foes; in the silence and gloomy reserve which characterized the multitude, a storm was seen to be gathering; and it appeared obvious that as deep-seated animosity was concentrating its forces on either side, nothing short of a dreadful conflict could extinguish their mutual hatred in mutual slaughter. If the members of the Society in question did not anticipate this calamity, they seem, at least, to have wisely taken some precautions against it. One of the means adopted by the insurgents in the first place, to prepare for the struggle, and by the constituted authorities in the next, to defeat their purpose, was the robbery and the search

for arms in private houses. So early as the year 1796, and in one particular province in 1795 the Quarterly Meetings of the Society were induced to recommend to all their members, through the medium of Monthly Meetings, that those individuals who had guns or other weapons in their houses should destroy them; and the General or National Meeting of 1796 confirmed this recommendation; in order, as the document states, "to prevent their being made use of to the destruction of any of our fellow-creatures,—and more fully and clearly to support our peaceable and Christian testimony in these perilous times."

Committees were appointed by the several Monthly Meetings throughout the Society, to go round to the different members for this purpose; and it appears that, in most families, these committees had little more to do than to communicate their business; some having previously destroyed all such instruments, and others giving full expectation of their intention immediately to comply with the recommendation of the superior meetings, whilst a few, who could not be prevailed upon to make this sacrifice, were found to have been generally inconsistent in their conduct in other respects: so that they soon incurred the censure of the Society, and suffered disownment. It was certified that, upon the whole, the labours of the members to carry this wholesome advice into effect were attended with a considerable degree of success.

It is related by an individual who resided at Ferns, in the county of Wexford, that, being appointed on one of these committees, he saw the necessity of first cleansing his own hands; and he took a fowling-piece which he had, and broke it in pieces in the street opposite to his own house; an example of fidelity to his principles, and a spectacle of wonder to his neighbours.

A little after this, when the government ordered all arms to be given up to the magistrates, it was a source of satisfaction to many, that, in a general way, the members of the Society were found to be without any such thing in their possession.

On this head, a circumstance, relating to the Friend above alluded to, deserves to be noticed: as it shows at once the uncertainty of life, and the weakness of human dependency. But, in stating this fact, or others of a similar nature, the author hopes none of his readers will imagine that he is anxious to hold up such events as

view, as in the light of judgments upon those who did not see the religious necessity of abstaining from war. Many well-disposed persons, of different denominations, he has no doubt, were permitted to be cut off by the arm of violence, during the time of the rebellion, in mercy and not in judgment. It is the object of this publication to record simply the facts : it is not for the author to judge any of his fellow-creatures.

Some of the neighbouring magistrates, with the clergyman of the parish, came to his house, and, the Friend being absent, expostulated with his wife on the supposed impropriety of his having destroyed his gun instead of giving it up to the government, for the alleged purpose of defending the loyalists against the fomenters and plotters of rebellion, and for the preservation of himself and his family. On which occasion the clergyman, who seems to have been an amiable man, made this spontaneous remark, " That he believed the Friend had put his confidence in a higher power." On the day the town of Enniscorthy was burned, this clergyman was murdered, and his body, with many others, was exposed for several days in the streets, where they were left to be eaten by the swine, till party rage had so far subsided as to embolden a few Friends to bury their remains. One of the magistrates was also murdered, and his house was burned over the body.

As the members of the Society, at so early a period as the year 1796, by taking the precautionary step of destroying their arms, manifested to the government their peaceable intentions ; so, in the few months of turbulence and dismay which immediately preceded the Rebellion of 1798, they were in a considerable degree relieved from the midnight depredations of the rebels, to which most of their neighbours were exposed, in the lawless search for destructive weapons ; because it was now generally known that none such were kept in their houses. And the National Meeting of the Society was concerned, officially to acknowledge its belief, " that this early destruction of these instruments was, under Providence, a means of lessening in some degree the effusion of human blood, (as these weapons would probably have fallen into the hands of violent men), and might have also tended to preserve some of the members of the Society themselves from blood, who if they had had guns in their houses, might have used them in an unguarded moment

of surprise or attack, so as to take away the lives of their fellow-creatures."

A Friend, living near the town of Taghmon, remarks, that he had personal proof of the advantage of having destroyed the guns kept for domestic purposes ; and he gives the following instance : " Two parties of insurgents coming near my father's residence during the Rebellion, an individual of one party of them snapped a gun at the other ; when an armed man came to the front door, and on my coming towards him, presented his gun at my breast, asserting that a gun had been snapped at their party by some person of our family. I then felt less of fear, than often during that period, when in less apparent danger, and told him, we had destroyed our guns, and that there had been no arms in the house except what their party brought into it, for a considerable time ; appealing to our servants, who confirmed the truth thereof. And, soon after, some, probably of his party, came, and he being, I supposed, informed of the real circumstances of the case, withdrew, when I saw one of the party whom I had some knowledge of, and who appeared friendly disposed to me ; and on going to speak with him, I saw, in the passage to the house, numbers sitting in groups, as if consulting on what had occurred."

As the state of public affairs was drawing nearer to a crisis, the situation of the Society, especially of those who resided in the vicinity of the contending parties, was a subject of deep and awful solicitude to its feeling members ; and many individuals had the efficacy of their religious principles against War, put, in various ways, to severe proof.

Amongst these, the Friend before alluded to, residing in the village of Ferns, in the county of Wexford, who is represented to have been constitutionally weak in body and timid in disposition, had to endure a considerable share of close trials ; and, notwithstanding his natural infirmities, it appears that, in most cases, he was enabled to support his principles with exemplary firmness.

A party of militia being stationed at Ferns, the Earl of M—, who commanded, came to this Friend, and desired he would give up part of his house, which was then used as a store, for a guard-house for the soldiers. The requisition being sudden, the friend was put to a stand what he should answer ; and, although he might have refused it on the ground of its being occupied as a store, yet, knowing that

this inconvenience could be obviated, he was not easy to cloak the real cause of objection with any disguise or subterfuge. Considering, therefore, that this was a fit opportunity to lift up the standard of peace and to bear his testimony against war, he honestly told the commander, "that the apartment he requested was occupied as a store room,—but besides, that the purposes for which it was wanted were such as he could not unite with, having a conscientious scruple against war, and every thing connected with it." Upon this, the Earl of M—— grew very angry, and desired the soldiers who were with him to afford the Friend no protection, in case any disturbance should arise. To this observation the latter replied, that "he hoped he should not trust to or apply for military protection." The commander went away greatly displeased, and seemed to mark out this Friend as a disaffected person; indeed he did not know how soon a prison might be his lot; especially as one of the militia-men, who was quartered at his house for many weeks, being entertained at free cost, propagated many false reports of him, with respect to political matters; so that his situation became increasingly perilous.

Some months after this, the military began to act with great rigour towards those that were suspected of being United Irishmen,\*—burning their houses and stacks of corn, &c. and fastening caps besmeared with pitch upon their heads. They were preparing to burn a house of this description in the village of Ferns: and the same Friend, feeling pity for the man's wife and children, who would thus be deprived of a habitation, was induced to intercede with the commanding officer of the militia on their behalf; stating that he did not come to intermeddle between him and the suspected man; but, pitying the poor wife and children, he thought it would be hard treatment to deprive *them* of shelter and the means of subsistence, when the man was fully in his power; adding, "though *he* might be criminal, probably *they* were innocent of his crime." During this expostulation, the officer became very warm in his temper, and charged the Quakers with meddling, in some cases, to prevent the

\* Those who opposed the Insurgents were sometimes called Loyalists, Orangemen, Protestants, Yeomen.—The Insurgents were also termed Pike-men, United Irishmen, Rebels, and sometimes they were even termed Roman Catholics, as chiefly consisting of that class, at least in the South of Ireland.

execution of justice, when, in others, they would give no assistance to the government.

A short time after this, when the United Irishmen got the ascendancy in the town, this Friend was enabled to render the officer some important services; and, from the grateful acknowledgments expressed by the latter in return, he had the satisfaction of thinking, that the prejudice of the officer was not only removed, but exchanged for a feeling of friendship. This occurrence afforded an interesting example of the blessed fruits of a peaceable conduct; the same individual using his influence *alternately* with both parties whilst in power,—an influence which nothing but an undeviating course of benevolence towards all his fellow-creatures could give him—to intercede for the depressed and afflicted.

On another occasion, the militia were preparing to hang some suspected persons, for not delivering up their weapons, and to fasten pitch caps on the heads of others. The Friend was fearful of being applied to for ropes, which he had for sale, as he could not be easy to sell them for that purpose: and yet he saw that refusal might involve him in some danger; as martial law had been proclaimed, and life and property were subjected to military discretion. However, when some of the military came to buy ropes and knen, he had the courage to refuse to sell what was intended to torment or destroy a fellow-creature. The articles were accordingly taken by force: and though payment was offered, he refused it.

This occurrence took place a little before the general rising of the United Irishmen in that part of the country, and he had reason to believe that, under the direction of Providence, it contributed to the preservation of himself and his family, at that juncture.

For, the Rebels having received information that he refused to sell ropes to the military for the purpose of hanging them, and pitch to put on the caps to torment them, placed a sentry at his door, the day they entered the town, to protect his house from destruction. And, a short time after this, when the army was approaching, and the United Men were about to fly from the place, some of the latter told him that, when the soldiers entered, they would consider every house that was not damaged as belonging to a Rebel or disaffected person; and, in order to preserve *his house* from destruction by the military, and probably to save the lives of the inhabitants, *they would*



*break the windows before they took leave of him ; which they accordingly did, and his house was not attacked by the soldiers.—This fact, however, is a little beyond the date of the narrative.*

To return, therefore, to the order of events, the same Friend observing that on the eve of the insurrection a melancholy silence prevailed, he inquired of a person if there was any thing more than usual in prospect, and was told that the country people were collecting in large bodies. At this intelligence, a cloud of darkness, as he described it, overspread his mind, and he was brought to a state of unutterable distress. He knew, indeed, that he had endeavoured to place his dependence on an Almighty Protector. But the feelings natural to every human being possessed of a Christian, peaceable disposition, at the prospect of the gulph that was opening to thousands of his misguided fellow-creatures, of the ruin and desolation about to fall upon his country, and of imminent danger to himself and his family, produced for some hours a conflict, of which he found it impossible to convey an adequate idea, and almost beyond what he seemed able to endure.

At midnight the town was filled with consternation : guards and divisions of the army were placed in different quarters ; and the Protestant inhabitants were in continual terror.

He prevailed upon his family to retire to bed ; but they could not sleep ; yet they endeavoured to attain that solemn retirement of soul in which it is best prepared to meet the calamities of life, and to rely on the mercy and power of Omnipotence.

Early in the morning, while he was in much anxiety as to the event, a person, whom he supposed to be one of the United Irishmen, came into the house, and said, " Let who may be killed, the Quakers will be spared." These words, trifling as they might appear, seemed to him, at the time, like the intimation given to Gideon, when he was listening to the man in the Midianites' camp telling his dream to his fellow, which tended to dissipate his fears, and to confirm his confidence. He then felt his mind somewhat encouraged to hope that their lives would be preserved.

On that morning, the scene was very awful : the houses and haggards of corn were in flames in every direction around them, some being set on fire by the yeomanry, and others by their enemies ; so that between the two parties, total devastation seemed to be at

hand;—the Protestant inhabitants were fleeing into the towns and villages for safety, and the military guards under arms in all quarters;—persons flying into town, having escaped from the hands of murderers in the country: some of them wounded, and bringing the news of others that were slain. Property was then of little account; for it was every one's concern to escape with his life.

Being informed that some of the fugitive Protestants were exceedingly in want of something to eat, the same Friend had victuals prepared, and sent to invite them to allay their hunger; but it so happened that none of them came to avail themselves of his benevolence.

The scene now became changed, though the prospect was still gloomy. For, in the evening the military left the town, and marched to Enniscorthy; and, together with the army, not only the Protestants who came into Ferns for safety, but those who resided in the village.

He was not aware of their departure till he observed that the place was almost depopulated. A state of things so opposite, though it was accompanied with marks of desolation, gave, however, a little time to contrast the quiet of peace with the alarms of war: and though short, this interval of calm was looked upon as a favour.

But in regard to the issue, his mind was still occupied with painful suspense, which continued till the next morning, when the town and neighbourhood became filled with an undisciplined and ungovernable multitude, consisting of many thousands of the United Irishmen, following the footsteps of the army to Enniscorthy, and demolishing the houses of those called Loyalists and Orangemen; for their owners were fled.

His house was soon filled with these people: when, to his astonishment and humbling admiration, instead of the massacre he and his family had dreaded, they were met by caresses and marks of friendship; the Insurgents declaring that they intended them no injury, but would fight for them, and protect them, and put them in their bosoms; adding, that they required nothing but provisions. They seemed, indeed, to be in extreme want of something to eat, *and the victuals which had been prepared for those they called enemies, were now ready for them*: when they had therefore consumed what was provided, they proceeded on their route to Enniscorthy.

Soon after, in the direction of this town, which was about six

miles distant, the columns of smoke could be seen rising from the burning houses ; and in the evening some of the United Men returned, with tidings that Enniscorthy was in their possession, and that their camp was fixed on Vinegar-hill over the town.

The next day, a man with a malicious expression of countenance, and having a long spit in his hand, came to the Friend and threatened to kill him for some alleged offence, saying, " I have killed Turner," (meaning a neighbouring magistrate,) " and have burned him in his own house, and now I will *rack*\* you as I please." He endeavoured to convince the man of his mistake ; and, being joined by the persuasions of a neighbour, with much difficulty prevailed upon him to be quiet ; so that at length he parted in friendship.

The day after Enniscorthy was taken by the Insurgents, several of the poor distressed Protestants, mostly women, returned homeward to the village, which they had deserted when the army left it. Two females, servants to the Bishop of Ferns, and a woman whose husband was killed the day before, came, with the children of the latter, to the Friend's door, as persons that had no dwelling-place. They stood in the street, looking up and down in all the eloquence of silent distress. Though he had but small accommodation, his heart and his house were both open to the afflicted : and, notwithstanding the severe threatenings he received from the *then* ruling party, for entertaining those to whom they were hostile, he and his family endeavoured to accommodate all they could without distinction. Even of the United Irishmen, such as staid in the town, and as many of their wives and families as could find room, used to come to his house at night to lodge, supposing themselves more secure than in their own habitations.

This was also the case in the houses of most other members of the Society, in any way exposed to the contending parties. And, in such a state of anarchy, when all laws were disregarded, and every man acted according to his own will, however perverse, it was not surprising that instances of ingratitude should now and then appear ; one of these may be mentioned :—Previously to the breaking out of the rebellion, the military had destroyed the habitation

\* The term *Rack* was in common use during the Rebellion, to denote the entire demolition of the interior of the houses of those who were considered enemies.

and property of a neighbouring farmer, who, with his family, sought shelter at the house of another member of the Society, near Ferns. He provided them with one of his out-houses to live in, until they could better their condition. But when *their* party got the ascendancy, the farmer took possession of his protector's dwelling-house, and manifested his intention of turning him and his family out of it ; and probably would have carried it into execution, had not the short duration of the United Irishmen's power prevented this ungrateful determination.

It may be noticed that, during the continuance of the struggle, the houses of Friends appeared to be marked out for places of entertainment. They were almost constantly full, day and night : and it was matter of surprise that their provisions held out as they did to the end of the conflict. The members of the Society, and some of the *then* oppressed party, sometimes conveyed provisions to one another privately. The United Men sometimes offered part of their own stock ; but when it was known to be plunder, or, as it was called, the spoils of war, the Friends declined to accept it ; and, it was evident, that such refusal was mostly taken in the light of an offence. Indeed, the United Men often discovered their chagrin because they could not prevail upon the members of the Society to unite with them in their requisitions.

From the number of United Men, who came to lodge almost every night in the Friends' houses, these were in continual danger of falling a prey to the King's army, if it should make an attack on the town : and, on the other hand, the Friends were continually threatened by the pikemen for not turning out the poor fugitive Protestant women and their children, who had taken shelter under their roofs. But although they appeared to be in danger, according to human apprehension, from both parties, they were in fact alternately protected by both.

The Friend above-mentioned, who was nearly dispossessed by the ungrateful farmer, being, at one time, much threatened for not complying in this respect, very candidly told the men who threatened him, that he would not turn out poor distressed creatures from his house, whatever might be the consequence ; and, seeing his firmness, they did not enforce compliance, although they expressed great dissatisfaction.

Some of them also came one morning to the other Friend, and told him, his house was to be burned that day, in consequence of his refusal to turn out the Protestant women that were in it. He replied, that "if they did so he could not help it; but that as long as he had a house, he would keep it open to succour the distressed; and, if they burned it for that reason, he must only *turn out* along with them and share in their affliction.

It so happened that this was the regular day on which the Meeting for Worship of the Society, in that quarter, was to be held, about a mile from Ferns; and, notwithstanding the alarming denunciation, he considered it his duty to take his family with him to Meeting, leaving his home with a heavy heart, as he expected soon to be without an habitation as well as the means of present support. On his return to Ferns, however, he was rejoiced to see his dwelling entire; and his heart was filled with praises and thankfulness to the good Providence that had preserved it. Whatever might have been the reason that prevented them from executing the threat, their evil disposition towards him on that account seemed to be changed; for they did not make any requisition of the kind afterwards.

Throughout the calamity, it was his uniform experience, that the more he attended to what he conceived to be right in his own conduct, the more he seemed to be respected by them; even when he expostulated with them on account of the cruelties committed by their party, as at Vinegar-hill, Wexford, and Scullabogue. They quietly listened to his remonstrance, and frequently acknowledged the wrong.

A party of the King's army stationed in Newtown-barry, came to Ferns to disperse the United Irishmen who held possession of the place. The latter at first made some demonstrations as if they would risk a battle; but seeing that the regular troops opposed to them were provided with cannon, they fled away from the town. On hearing that the army was coming in, the Friend stood at his own door, lest he should be suspected of being an enemy. When the military came near his door, one of the soldiers stepping out of the ranks, presented a gun at his breast, and was on the point of drawing the trigger, when the Friend called to him "*to desist from murder.*" The soldier, like one struck with amazement, immediately let the gun fall from his shoulder; and presently his

officers interfered for the Friends protection ; whose life was thus preserved, as on the right hand and on the left.

Some of the inhabitants of this village, who were found unarmed in the houses, being made prisoners by the soldiers, they pleaded their innocence ; but, in such a state of things, they could not easily prove it. The commanding officer therefore desired, that if there were any Quakers in the town, they would get certificates of good behaviour from them ; which, he added, he would be willing to accept, and then to liberate them. The same Friend was accordingly applied to on behalf of several, and procured their liberation. Had he been put to death by the hand of the hasty soldier, it is easy to see that those who obtained their release afterwards by his means, would probably have shared the same fate, for want of credible testimonials ; and thus one sacrifice would have been added to another, and Death would have multiplied its victims without any regard to their innocence. Thus it is when violence is permitted to reign ; and thus it would be on every occasion if there were not an over-ruling Providence to say to the peaceful sufferer in his wrongs—"It is enough," and to the proud oppressor in his fury—"Thus far shalt thou go."

A Friend of Enniscorthy informed an acquaintance, that on the day when the town was taken from the Rebels by the army, he was in great distress, thinking it the most critical and dangerous time of the whole ; for, he supposed, that, on the entrance of the soldiers, they would consider that every man, whom they found alive in coloured clothes, was a rebel, and consequently would put him to death. As he was walking up and down one of the upper street-rooms of his house, he heard voices in the street, and, looking out, saw some soldiers carrying a wounded man, (supposed to be an officer,) and seeking for a place of safety in which to deposit their charge. The Friend, opening the window, told them, they might bring him into his house. On hearing his voice one of the soldiers looked up, and, seeing the Friend, exclaimed, "That is a Quaker, we may safely go in there ;" which they did, with their wounded comrade : and, when the main body of the army entered, seeing soldiers in the house, they went in without fear, and without injuring the place. One of the Generals took up his quarters for some time in the house.

*Tract No. IX. Part II. of the Society for the Pro-  
motion of Permanent and Universal Peace.*

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THE  
PRINCIPLES OF PEACE.

*EXEMPLIFIED*

IN THE CONDUCT OF

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN IRELAND,

*During the Rebellion of the Year 1798;*

WITH

SOME PRELIMINARY AND CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

—◆—  
BY

THOMAS HANCOCK, M. D.

—◆—  
IN THREE PARTS.

PART II.

—◆—  
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THE
PRINCIPLES OF PEACE, &c.

PART II.

CHAP. III.

*Of the Dangers to which the Society was exposed in the Attendance
of their Meetings.*

THE events which have been noticed in the last Chapter, as far as they relate to the Society of Friends, may be considered rather of a domestic nature, concerning only two or three families. It may now, therefore, be proper to say a few words as to the situation of its members in the quarter where the Individual, so often alluded to, resided, viz. in the county of Wexford, with respect to the performance of their religious duties. In this part of the country, notwithstanding some of the members of the same Meeting were several miles distant from each other, they did not suffer their perplexities at home to interfere with the sacred duty of religious worship abroad, or to prevent them from traversing the country, filled with armed men, amidst dangers, if possible, still greater than those they had left, in order that they might assemble together for this solemn purpose. Consequently, in going to, and returning from, their meetings, they had to encounter many difficulties, besides the struggle between their faith and their natural fears, in leaving their houses and property a prey perhaps to pillage, or to the flames, during their absence. Human prudence, it is likely, would have induced them, in such an awful extremity, to remain at home, and to look after their outward affairs; but the sense of what they owed to their Maker, and to the Society of which they were members, in many instances, overbalanced these selfish considerations; and it appears, that in most cases they left behind them a better guardian than human prudence.

Most of the horses being taken from them, the members of that

particular Meeting had frequently to walk to their place of worship. The first time they did so, some of them met a man of very terrible character, who had killed a neighbour, in Ferns, a day or two before. He was, however, friendly in his behaviour to them, and even offered to have them carried to their Meeting. But, though they acknowledged his civility, they did not accept his offer, pursuing their journey on foot six Irish miles.

Parties of these people often met with the Friends going to and returning from their Meeting, and they were sometimes very inquisitive to know whence they came, and whither they were going; but none of them offered any molestation, except at one time when several Friends were passing to Meeting through Camolin, a village not far from Ferns, with a horse belonging to one, and a jaunting-car to another. A great number of United Men being in the street, and conversing about the Society, one of them said, "it was the last time the Quakers should ever go that road." After the latter had passed the crowd, a shot was fired apparently to alarm them. The horse took fright and broke the traces, an inconvenience they remedied as well as they were able, and afterwards proceeded quietly to their meeting-place. It was a remarkable circumstance that before the next meeting-day came round in regular course, the power of these misguided men was overthrown.

In other parts of the county of Wexford, some of the members of the Society, having been observed by the United Men to persevere in attending their place of religious worship, notwithstanding the threats and opposition they experienced, became objects of this party's displeasure, and were apprised, that, if they persisted, they should be taken to the Altar of a neighbouring Chapel, and suffer the penalty of their obstinacy.

A large and respectable family of the Society, though they were often threatened and advised by a priest and others to stay at home for some time, or at least to go by some private way, did not feel that it would be right for them to go to Meeting by any other than the usual way, along the high road, through the town of Taghmon, which was inhabited almost entirely by persons supposed to be friendly to the United Irishmen, and therefore unfriendly to them. Some of these were heard to say of the Friends, "They even dare us by going through the streets, but they shall not go long;" and

they used many threats both by words and actions to intimidate the family. The young women, who were delicately brought up, sometimes walked to and from the Meeting-place at Forrest, about four Irish miles distant, without any male attendant, and experienced no molestation, even in the very height of the commotions; their parents from the infirmities of advanced age being unable to accompany them. On one of these occasions, having been more than usually threatened, they remarked that a strange dog, which they could not recollect to have ever seen before, followed, or rather accompanied them home, as an escort for some miles; and, on seeing them safe to the house, which he could not be prevailed upon to enter, left them. This might have been only an accidental occurrence, but it engaged their attention at the time; and, though simple in itself, may now prove nothing more than that their minds were not resting upon human help.

Amongst the various menaces that were used to alarm the Society, some of the United Irishmen spoke "of converting the Quakers Meeting-house at Forrest into a Romish Chapel;" and two boys were heard to say that "they would burn the Quakers in their place of worship the next meeting day." A member of that Meeting residing near, was also informed that the Meeting-house should be burned; and that he and his large family should be destroyed if he attempted to go there again; and in order to intimidate him the more, a blunderbuss was presented at him. Another Friend was also told by a woman, that she heard several persons declare, on the very day the Rebels were driven out of their camp near Ross, "that the Quakers should never meet again at their Meeting-house in Forrest." Thus it appears that the same threat was held out to many families.

It is worthy, however, of notice, that, notwithstanding individuals and whole families were thus threatened, in different places, few were deterred from the steady pursuit of what they considered to be the path of religious duty; and the fact is to be recorded, as a monument, not to their praise, but to the mercy of that Providence which watches over the weakest of his children who trust in him, that all the machinations and evil designs of their enemies, in this as in other instances, were signally confounded; for on the very morning of the next Meeting-day at Forrest, when so many were to be

devoted to destruction, and their houses to the flames, the power of the United Irishmen was overthrown by a decisive battle near Vinegar-hill. Accordingly, about the time appointed for public worship, when the Friends met together as usual, numbers of these misguided people, who had been calculating on the possession of power to effect their own cruel ends,—instead of carrying their designs into execution, were actually assembled about the door and windows of the Meeting-house, not as a building doomed with its inmates to destruction, but *as a place of safety* to themselves ; and they remained there till the meeting concluded, and the Friends had withdrawn.

It is not to be supposed that Forrest was the only Meeting where such circumstances occurred — of malignant threats appalling to human nature on one side, and of unshaken firmness in the support of religious testimonies on the other.—The members of Cooladine and Enniscorthy Meetings, in the same county, were placed nearly in the same predicament with those of Forrest. They were threatened ; and though some of them had to lament the loss of their property and the destruction even of their houses, in the indiscriminate devastation, yet the threats of personal violence to them were found to be impotent, and their lives were providentially preserved.

The United Men told a Friend of Cooladine, that “if the Quakers ever attempted to meet again in the Meeting-house there, it should be burned.”

When the town of Enniscorthy was in possession of the Rebels, the time of holding the Monthly Meeting there had arrived ; and different members of the particular Meetings composing it, except of Ross, which was then in a state of siege, prepared to attend it. Some came from Ferns, Cooladine, and Balanclay. Although their horses were taken from some Friends on the road, by patrols from the Rebel camp at Vinegar-hill, they were not themselves prevented from pursuing their journey on foot many miles ; and they entered Enniscorthy, scarcely knowing whether they would be permitted to go to their Meeting-house or not, and almost doubting whether they should find it standing. They were, however, enabled to hold their meeting for worship ; but were much interrupted by persons walking and making a noise in a loft or gallery adjoining, who, after a while, went away. It appeared that these persons came with a malicious

design, but that they were prevented from carrying it into execution. A large hole was observed to have been broken in the ceiling, which, the Friends were told, was made for the purpose of setting the house more readily on fire, but that others of the party interfered to prevent it.

Soon after this Monthly Meeting of Enniscorthy, the Quarterly Meeting for Leinster Province was to be held, in due course, in the same town. As the time approached, it seemed almost impossible, from the appearance of things, that it could be accomplished. Yet many individuals, some from distant places, acting in faith and simplicity of heart, left their homes to attend it, and the way was gradually opened before them. The outward aspect of affairs at the time was, indeed, changed : for the United Men had only recently been defeated with great slaughter, and their camp was broken up. Accordingly, several Friends had to pass through heaps of slain on the road, and in some instances were obliged to remove the dead bodies of the Rebels out of the way, that they might not trample on them, to the wonder of the spectators ; some of whom exclaimed—
“ The Quakers must be mad.”

It may therefore be noticed, that in the neighbourhood of Cooladine Meeting, the camp of Vinegar-hill, a mile distant, was broken up by the battle which took place there the day before their week-day meeting occurred ; and so, way seemed to be opened not only for the attendance of that meeting, but of Leinster Quarterly Meeting at Enniscorthy the day following.

At the latter, the members of the Society who attended, were comforted together, under an humbling sense of the providential care they had so largely experienced ; and, having held their meetings for worship, as well as that for regulating the affairs of the Society, in much quietness, they were favoured to return to their respective habitations in safety.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Trials to which Friends were exposed for refusing to conform to the Ceremonies of the Church of Rome.

A FRIEND of Enniscorthy Meeting, residing a few miles from that town, was made prisoner at his own house, and taken by a number of pikemen to the house of a neighbouring priest with whom he was intimately acquainted. The priest told him, that he must become a Roman Catholic, and be christened ; for that no other profession of religion was now to be allowed. At this the Friend was greatly surprised, and said, he had a better opinion of the priest than to suppose he would force men to make a profession of religion in opposition to their consciences. The priest replied, "there was no alternative, either to become a Roman Catholic or to be put to death." The Friend remarked, that "by so doing, they would be only making hypocrites of such as might be induced to comply : and, for his part, that he would choose to suffer, rather than to violate his conscience : that if there was any crime laid to his charge, he was willing to be tried, and on that ground was not afraid to look any of them in the face." The priest, who had every thing ready for baptizing, according to their mode, seemed much disappointed, and brought him out to the pikemen to be taken to Vinegar-hill. The Friend again expostulated with the priest and pikemen together, urging that if there was anything worthy of death laid to his charge, he was willing to undergo a trial. The pikemen, although they seemed much displeased that he would not become a Roman Catholic, acknowledged the justness of his proposal, and, in obedience to the priest, conveyed him to their camp.

A few other Friends were also made prisoners, from different parts of the county, and were taken to the camp at Vinegar-hill, where they underwent a sort of trial : but, nothing being alleged against them, they were set at liberty. Their liberation was not a little remarkable, as many other persons were put to death, against whom no charge of enmity was brought, nor any ground of accusation, except that they were Protestants.

A Friend from Ulster, then on a religious service in that part of the country, was taken prisoner and brought to the camp; and at the time the Rebel army was performing the service of mass, as he could not take any part in their form of worship, they suffered him to remain standing alone, with his head covered, while they were on their knees, during the ceremony.

Many were the instances in which, in some parts of the country, a dark and persecuting spirit displayed itself during the rebellion.

An elderly Friend, the father of a large family, who was in a declining state of health, and whose daughters used to go alone to their meeting at Forrest, as mentioned in page 7, was one, who, from the respectability of his character and his influence in the country, was marked by the Insurgents and their leaders, as a desirable object of their proselytism, in this reign of terror. For as they were decidedly unwilling to take the lives of the Friends, their object was to convert them, by intreaties or by menaces, to their faith.

In the case of this Friend, they laboured at it very assiduously; for if, by any means his conversion could have been accomplished, it is certain that they would have regarded it as a signal triumph. He was urged and threatened: but when the attempt became hopeless, one of the priests told some of the insurgents, after inquiring, "had they not killed him yet?" that "*they could not go forward until they had dispatched the old man.*" One night, about twelve o'clock, a number of them entered his house, and when they had plundered it of what they wished, they snapped a pistol at him several times, seeming to be determined to take his life. After some consideration, they then insisted upon his going with them to their *main-guard*, which was stationed at a distance. He made an effort to go with them, accompanied by one of his daughters; but, feeling much weakness, and finding himself unable to proceed, he sat down under a tree in his own lawn. After a pause, which they did not seem to understand, they inquired "what he had to say?" His reply was, that "should they be permitted to take his life, he hoped the Almighty might be pleased to forgive them, and to take him in his mercy." Upon this they were silent, left him, and went quietly away.

A kinsman of this Friend, living in the country not far from him, and only a few miles from the noted Barn of Scullabogue, where a

number of Protestants, men, women, and children, were collected from the neighbouring country, and burnt to death, had also a large family which was exposed to much danger during the disturbances. A member of this family (the eldest son), has supplied me with the following authentic narrative of the events that occurred to himself and his relatives during that awful visitation.

“ After the removal of the rebels to Carrig-Burn, we were constantly visited in the day-time by armed parties and individuals (proceeding to join the camp) for refreshment; this we could not avoid affording them, as far as lay in our power; it generally consisted of bread and milk, or milk and water. Few of the strangers behaved offensively, and several expressed themselves dissatisfied with the hardships their present employment rendered them subject to. Some of our neighbours, those who had been in habits of receiving little acts of kindness and assistance from us, were those whose dispositions we afterwards found we had most cause to dread. Our horses were about this time all taken from us, but I believe none other of our stock. Our servants, male and female, also left us, save one little faithful girl, who still lives in the family; but she was at length compelled from her fears to leave us. Our visits in the day-time were frequent, as I have noticed, but our nights were *generally* passed in awful tranquillity. The morning of the day on which the battle of Ross took place, with us was gloomy, and we thought we heard an indistinct rumbling in the air, (the distance is about seven miles,) but we did not then know that the *attack* on *that day* was meditated. We had but few visitors, and all seemed darkness and gloom with those we did see; but we at length became in some degree acquainted with the state of things. In the morning my father and I walked up to the corner of our farm, where from a bank we saw the smoke of the Barn of Scullabogue, where the horrid scene had been just acted; but we were not then aware of this awful fact! A neighbour of ours, who was considered rather of superior rank among the farmers, called at the house in the course of the day, and made use of an odd expression, exemplifying the general feelings of his party, namely—‘ If these (meaning the rebels) if these gain the day in Ross, we will *dissect every Protestant in Ireland.*’ Providence was pleased to disappoint those cruel hopes and merciless intentions. Rancorous feelings, however, heightened by

disappointment and defeat in this main object at Ross, now began to evince themselves. A principal actor in those scenes was a man named Kehoe, who went about our neighbourhood committing murders. He shot, at his own door, the foster-father of one of my brothers, an inoffensive man, *but a Protestant*; and also a poor old man of the same *persuasion*, upwards of eighty years of age. He also formed, as is presumed, similar intentions, as regarded the whole of our family, the circumstances of which I shall, as nearly as I can recollect, relate.

“Some days after the battle of Ross, a party of men, armed, came about noon to the back door of our house, of whom this man appeared to be chief. They asked for some refreshment, and were ushered into the kitchen, and sat down at a table, and some food was set before them. A few minutes after another party, about the same number (about eight persons), also armed, came to the front door, and inquired if some of their men were not in the house, which was replied to by my father in the affirmative, and they were sent to join them in the kitchen, when they all sat down to the table, or near it. We were all at this time in the parlour: my dear mother seemed to feel an impulse on her mind to go out into the kitchen, and requested my father to remain with the children in the parlour. I went with her: she carried a stocking she was knitting, and we placed ourselves with our backs to the fire-place, and immediately facing the table where this party sat. After a few moments, when they appeared to have finished their repast, they remained in a state of sullen silence, when this Kehoe raised his eyes, and sternly fixed them upon my mother. She instantly perceived it, and kept her eyes firmly fixed on his, until he bent down his head as if confounded. A short pause of sullen silence again ensued among them; I do not believe a word was uttered by any one; and *they all, as by one impulse*, suddenly rose from their seats, went out, and went away. In the mean time the girl I have noticed went out for some turf for the fire, when she found a number of women in the out-offices, who had ropes with them, and who inquired from her anxiously—‘*What are the men about?—what are the men about?*’ We afterwards understood that these ropes were intended to assist in carrying away the plunder, after our lives had been disposed of by this party. We were not, however, at the moment aware of

this, their cruel intent, but soon after—I rather think it was the evening of the same day—a poor man, who had lived with us since my infancy (whose wife had nursed one or more of the children), and who resided with his family on our farm as a cottager, came to the house, and spoke privately to my father, and told him that mischief was intended; that if he had any valuables, such as plate, &c. that he could put away, that it would be advisable, which might ultimately be of use to some of the family; and (if I mistake not), I think he offered to secrete, under the protection of his family, some of the younger children. These coming from such authority, and with a knowledge of Kehoe's character, were awful intimations; and trying, indeed, to the feelings of my dear parents, and those of us who heard them. A consultation was held, and it appeared to my dear mother's mind desirable that we should all withdraw at midnight from our dwelling, and proceed to Forrest Meeting-house, where, as the next day was that of the week-day meeting, there was a probability of seeing that venerable and worthy Friend (long since deceased), Joseph Poole, whose advice might be rendered useful and subservient to fixing a proper determination in such an awful crisis. Such being my dear mother's feelings, we all willingly coincided, and left the house on our pilgrimage, with all the family, about the hour appointed—our servant girl had, from fear of what she had seen and heard, deserted us. The night was starlight, serene, and beautiful, tending to tranquillize our feelings under this dispensation of Providence. We proceeded quietly in our route, without meeting any person along the public road, until we came within a short distance of *Taghmon*, where the Rebels kept guard, when we took a short cut across the fields, leaving *it* about a quarter of a mile to the right. Just as we got in a direct line with it, a gun was fired in the town, which gave us some alarm; but it did not appear that we were the cause of it, and we passed on, and reached Forrest Meeting-house in safety, where we opened the shutters, &c. of one of the windows, entered the house, closed them again, and laid ourselves down in the gallery to take some repose, and await with resignation the results of the coming day. Early in the morning, the girl from the neighbouring house, where the care-taker of the Meeting-house lived, came to open the shutters, and, on perceiving persons sitting in the gallery, was much alarmed, and ran away. However, my

father went down to the house, and explained the circumstance, we all soon followed, and took some refreshment. Meeting was held without interruption at the usual time, which our venerable Friend alluded to, with his family and some others, attended. Our case was disclosed to him, which was solemnly considered, and it was concluded that, situated as matters were, *and that the same protecting hand of the Almighty was every where*, it was wisest to put our *dependence in that Power*, and return again to our home, and await our fate with fortitude and resignation. We therefore, returned, passing through Taghmon, met with no molestation, and found all at our house quiet and undisturbed. In the evening, my father received a friendly note from the priest of Taghmon, who was a humane man, expressing his regret at hearing of the mischief intended him by bad characters in our neighbourhood, and stating that he had sent him a guard to protect his family and his house, which he might retain if he thought proper. This guard was chiefly composed of Protestants, who had conformed, and which, I suppose, the priest thought would be most acceptable. My father felt grateful for this act of humanity and friendship ; they remained that night in the house, and I believe only that one, as my father did not wish to interfere : but I doubt not, this conduct of the priest being publicly known, tended to repress for a time the malevolent intentions of those wicked men.

“ After these occurrences, we enjoyed about a week of moderate tranquillity ; but about the end of that time, early one morning, before we were up, we were again visited by a hostile band, several of whom were on horseback, some neighbours and some strangers. They got admittance at the back door, where they kept guard ; and four or five with pikes and fire-arms came up stairs where we were in bed. Their pretence was alleged to be, that we had a person in the house who was inimical to them. This was disavowed ; but they were directed to search by my father :—they did so, but found no one, as they were at first informed. They appeared most maliciously angry, and one of them in going down stairs struck his pike through the glass of the clock, and into the dial plate, the mark of which is still visible ; others of them stabbed some tin ware, and other articles in the kitchen : and after this they all went away ; some cursing and swearing, and saying they could not conceive or

understand *what prevented them doing what they came to do*, or words to the same effect :—it may not be improper for me here to notice an observation that I heard my dear father make — ‘ that he had counted all the stabs given to the different articles by these people (after their departure,) and found them to accord in number exactly with the number of which our family consisted !’

“ This was the last visitation of this nature which we experienced. Their diabolical power was in a few days after annihilated, and good order restored, under the constitutional authorities. The government having at length made its military arrangements, the army advanced towards this county in different directions. Sir John Moore, with a brigade of thirteen light companies, and a party of Hessians, advanced from Ross, and encamped at Longrage, about three miles from us. We had notice of their approach to our neighbourhood by the smoke of the burning of cottages, which marked their route, and which is generally among the melancholy concomitants of war. About noon the next day, they quitted their encampment, and were proceeding on their march towards Wexford, when they were apprised, by the firing of their advanced guard of Hessians in front, of the enemy being at hand, — Roche, the Rebel-general, having advanced from near Wexford, with (it was said) near thirty thousand men to this attack : the action commenced between two and three o’clock p. m. and continued about three hours. The firing of cannon and musketry was heavy ; and the contest at times, from the shouts of the Rebels, appeared doubtful. We could plainly see the smoke of the fire-arms from our windows, and numbers of persons in retreat, during the whole time, crossing our fields. Several called at the house for drink, some of whom were wounded. It was a most awful moment for us, so near the scene of action, in various shapes. Had any of the army observed their opponents receiving refreshment from us at such a crisis, it might have had serious consequences, if the motive were ever so innocent and inoffensive. But the same Almighty hand that had so eminently protected us in other instances, was not shortened in this ; and we were suffered to remain tranquil and unmolested. During the whole time of this calamity, some of our family regularly attended our Meeting at Forrest, through Taghmon : which we did without receiving any serious molestation. I believe a few instances

occurred in which my dear mother, from weakness, and my sisters, did not attend.

"After the close of the action of Fooksmill, in which several hundreds were killed, the army encamped on part of the field of battle, and the rebels retreated towards Wexford, where they were followed the next *day* by Sir John Moore. This *day* was also fatal to their cause at Vinegar-hill, from whence we heard the cannon resounding soon after sun-rise. This combat closed their career in the county of Wexford.

"It is a circumstance worthy of remark, that some of those persons who had been so ill-disposed towards us before their defeat, actually came and solicited leave to hide themselves, and some property in our out-buildings, immediately after the battle of Fooksmill."

A female Friend, being desired by a Roman Catholic clergyman to *put up* the sign of the cross, which was worn by their party at that time, replied, that "she could not do it, but hoped the Almighty might be pleased to enable her *to bear it*." On this he did not urge her any farther.

An elderly Friend of some opulence, who came to reside in England soon after the disturbances, with a constitution much debilitated by the hardships and persecutions he had suffered during the rebellion, on two occasions had to experience signal preservation. — His house, which was situated in rather a lonely part of the country, was ransacked and stripped of every thing valuable by a party of the Insurgents. Some hours after the depredation, another party entered for the same purpose; and the Captain, after demanding the property, either discrediting the Friend's simple statement of what had already occurred, or irritated at the disappointment, raised his sword to murder the venerable man, when his wife, rising from her seat, with much emotion and firmness exclaimed, "Thou canst not touch a hair of my husband's head, unless Divine Providence permit thee." The man was so struck by her Christian fortitude, that he let the sword drop from his hand; and, stooping to pick it up without uttering a word, he turned away quietly and withdrew his men. On another occasion, several of the United Irishmen entered his house and insisted that he should undergo the ceremony of Baptism according to the form of the Romish Church. As he refused it, they behaved very roughly, but left him, with the determination, as

they said, of coming again in a few days; and if he then refused, that they would certainly hang him. According to their promise, they came again, and endeavoured, by arguments and threats, to prevail upon him to be baptized; but in vain. They then said, they certainly would hang him; but some trifling matter occurring among themselves, the execution of their design was deferred at that time also, and they left him. In a few days they returned again, and he was told that they had now resolved to hang him before they left the house, if he did not agree to be baptized; and they actually fastened a rope round his neck and took him to an out-house, where there was a beam, and were in the act of tying him up to the beam, when an alarm was given that a party of soldiers was coming, which made them run away: so that his life was providentially saved.

A Friend living in a retired part of the county of Waterford, had a large family of young children, and kept several servants. A little before the battle of Ross, two of the nursery - maids, Roman Catholics, left the house. This circumstance gave some alarm to the family, which was, however, mitigated in degree by their return after the battle, in which the United Irishmen were defeated. The mistress interrogated the elder of the servants respecting their reasons for thus leaving the family at a time and in a state of such distress; and represented their ingratitude after having experienced so many marks of kindness from their master and mistress, during a period of some years' servitude. The girl acknowledged it all with many tears; but added, "Mistress, if you knew all, you would not condemn us." Some days afterwards, her mistress spoke to her again, and requested her to be more explicit, because she did not understand what was meant by the words, "If you knew all," &c. And upon urging the subject in a very kind manner, the servant burst into tears, and acknowledged that she and her fellow-servant had been enjoined by an authority to which they were accustomed to yield implicit obedience, "if the battle of Ross was favourable to the Irish, to kill the young children:—and this," said she, "we could not do; you had been like tender and kind parents to us, and the children we loved as our own: and therefore we determined to leave the house, never to return any more, if the battle should be favourable to the Irish."

Some idea may be formed of the dangers with which the members

of the Society were surrounded, when it is known, that with few exceptions, their domestic servants, being Roman Catholics, were in secret league with the Insurgents, and daily anticipating the overthrow of civil and religious power, as well as an entire change of property in their own favour. Hence, there was every sordid inducement, that could operate upon a dark and interested multitude, to destroy all who stood in their way. For they were led, perversely enough, to think, that the destruction of one differing in religious opinion, was the performance of a religious duty, or an act pleasing in the sight of God, and would coincide with their temporal interest. It is, however, to be noticed, that, in the South of Ireland, a great number of the Roman Catholics, in the better classes of society, were distinguished for their loyalty and good conduct: whilst in the North, many who took an active part as leaders in the sedition, were, by profession, Protestants.* It was chiefly a political struggle in the North, and religious, more than political, in the South. Hence, the probability is, that, had both classes been victorious against the lawful government, yet, with such distinct and incompatible views, they would soon have turned their arms against each other.

A servant maid, residing with a Friend in Enniscorthy, who had been instrumental in bringing about the murder of the male part of a Protestant family, with whom she had formerly lived, having pointed out to some of the pikemen such windows in the Friend's house, as she supposed they could fire from with most effect, upon the King's troops, he said to her, "I did not think thou wouldst serve me so." Upon which she told her mistress, that their children would be fatherless before that time to-morrow. Her threats, however, proved to be vain.

"At length," says an eye-witness, who has recorded some of these events, "the time approached when divine interposition was remarkably conspicuous in this county; nearly three weeks the rage of religious bigotry spread itself with fire and sword; and from every information I could learn, and from concurring circumstances, it appeared, *the day was fixed* for a general massacre of every class

* Indeed some of the leaders in the South were Protestants, especially the Insurgent General, who commanded at the battle of Ross: and it is supposed that he was in some degree instrumental in restraining the cruelty of those under him.

who were not of the Romish Church. For, said they, often in my hearing, '*one religion only shall be allowed.*'*

"But on the eve before that day, the King's army invested Vinegar-hill, and, early in the morning, a battle ensued, in which the United Irishmen were totally defeated and routed. The King's army pursued them to Wexford, got immediate possession of the town, and rescued many of the poor victim Protestants from present death, and all who were not yet made prisoners, from the horrible massacre which was rapidly going forward."

Some idea may be formed of the evils produced by contention, even to those whose party may have got the ascendancy, when it is known that a considerable number of the Protestants, who had been taken to the camp of the Rebels at Vinegar-hill as prisoners, were put to death by the victorious army, through ignorance, or through want of discrimination, in the heat of pursuit; as every one in a coloured coat was supposed to belong to the Insurgents.

CHAP. V.

Testimonies of Friends from different parts, including a Narrative of Events at Ballitore, and a few particulars of the Battles of Ross and Antrim.

THE following interesting journal of the events that occurred in the village of Ballitore, was kept by a Friend residing there, who, at that time, had the care of a large establishment for the education of youth, chiefly of the Society; and it will be seen that he endeavoured to steer a course of humanity and benevolence, which qualified him to interpose his good offices, with effect, on several occasions, for the preservation of those, of both parties, who were in imminent danger from their enemies.

* "On that morning, a standard, or black flag was carried through the streets of Wexford, with M. W. S. in large letters inscribed thereon; the meaning supposed to be, MURDER WITHOUT SIN. The massacre of the Protestant prisoners was executing at WEXFORD, and did not discontinue until they (the pikemen) fled from the King's army. It was said they were wading in their blood up to their ankles on the bridge of Wexford."

" 1798,—24th of 5th mo. 5th day, was the day of the general rise of the people in the county of Kildare. The occasion of their rise may be attributed to the following causes. For a long time back the people of the country have shewn a disaffection to government, particularly the Presbyterians in the north, and the Romanists, almost universally. Against these latter the rulers seem particularly exasperated, because, they said, that having granted them every relaxation of the penal laws against Catholics, that could be conveniently allowed them, even to the endangering of the constitution, yet they were dissatisfied: and it began to be suspected, that, instead of a participation of rights with Protestants in this kingdom, they wanted to subvert the constitution, and have all to themselves. It was also thought, and found from facts, that they were actually in league with the French, the avowed enemies to the constitution established; and that they looked for an invasion from them, to rise and join them, for the purpose of effecting their treasonable designs. Government therefore determined on coercive measures, that, seeing they could not be won over, they might be forced or frightened into obedience. For this purpose, informers were employed amongst them, who, many of them, betrayed innocent men, for whom they entertained a pique or enmity; houses were searched for unlawful meetings, arms, and papers; those informed against were severely whipped, and extorted confessions obtained: hence, a source of distress, perfidy, and disaffection was opened; the minds of men exasperated against each other in the bitterest manner: hence, jealousies, and cruel retaliations of injuries, private assassinations, burning of houses, by each party; the wine of resentment and revenge intoxicating even men of the soundest heads and fairest intentions. The soldiery, being harassed with incessant pursuit of those wretches, thus excited by their cruelties to repeated acts of outrage, were hardly restrained by their officers (when opportunity offered) from destroying the people with indiscriminate slaughter.

" In order to effect their purposes of coercion, the government had fallen on a gradation of punishment:—First, putting soldiers on private houses,—Secondly, allowing them free quarters there, so that many poor people left their beds to the soldiers and lay upon straw,—Thirdly, burning their houses, on intimation of disaffection, or proof of concealed arms,—Fourthly, whipping, which was

conducted with such severity, that many said they would prefer to be shot at once, than to be thus tormented to death ; and many were actually taken out of their houses and put to immediate death.

“ Things were in this state at the time of the date above mentioned : the government requiring the people to bring in concealed arms to entitle them to protection ; with which multitudes complied ; but still many were concealed ; when the alarm came to Colin Campbell, commanding in the county of Kildare, and stationed at Athy, that on this day there would be a general rise.

“ In the night of the 23d, an express arrived to Captain C —, of the Suffolk fencibles, quartered at Ballitore, to be ready in a moment’s warning to be under march with his men and the militia also under his command. Thus our very agreeable E—— C—— left us, to be exposed to popular resentment, to which he was by no means entitled, being possessed of the most gentle, conciliatory dispositions ; which led him often to deplore the situation he was placed in, and that the plundering of the disaffected (which they called *foraging* from them) should be acted under his directions.*

“ Large bodies of men now collected in different places, armed with pikes and pitchforks, with a few swords, muskets, and bayonets, some of which had been forced or stolen from the soldiery. The Insurgents waylaid the troops, and in some places killed a few of them ; but became themselves at last the victims of slaughter : which was the case when C—— arrived at Kilcullen.

“ It were in vain, as it is unimportant, to describe the flying engagements which took place in several places on this day. At Narramore Wood, Lieut. Edie, of the Tyrone militia, had smart work, and was well nigh cut off by liers in wait : multitudes were slain there by the Insurgents. The loyalists, who were in possession of the Court-house at Narramore, took the captain of the Insurgents prisoner ; upon which the people set fire to all the houses there ; and the property of John Jeffers, a staunch man to the constitution, was thereby destroyed : then they recovered the captain, and took some prisoners. When they were dislodged from Narramore Wood,

* “ Foraging parties were dispersed through the country ; and a hundred cars, laden with provisions (taken from the people) came one day into Ballitore. It was the scarce time of the year, and this proceeding caused great distress.”

the Insurgents took the bog-road, and had an engagement with the military on march on the high road, when several men were slain of the country people.

“ In the evening the captain of the Insurgents collected his forces of pikemen, &c. in the plain between Narramore and Ballitore, to the number of 2 or 300, and marched them down to take possession of Ballitore, which was this morning evacuated by the soldiers. A. Shackleton, with his boys, from the top of Nine-tree Hill, was witness to the awful procession ; not knowing to what lengths the popular transport might carry an exasperated people. So, letting them pass by, he led his little corps of infantry (*the dear alarmed boys*) round by the back of the garden into the house ; and about five o'clock, the pikemen, with various descriptions of armour, entered his parlour, and found him sitting with his family and the dear boys in awful quiet. They behaved with respect, but asked peremptorily for provisions, which we handed out to them, and they retired. Our poor neighbours, fearing pillage of property, now began to flock to our house ; so, as my school was small, we had room to accommodate about 100 persons, men, women, and children, who, day and night, collected up and down in our houses. The school-house, a large room, was given up to them ; so that, what with the people seeking an asylum, and the men under arms, we had very little quiet, or scarcely any thing we could call our own.

“ Such were the important events of the 24th ; important to us and our little community. Our minds were centered in divine dependence. The canopy of preserving power was evident to my feeling in this awful crisis.

“ 25th, Sixth-day morning. — Alarms often came of a military force. Our horses were taken, to send expresses to explore the movements of the army ; our poor people being generally too feeble to resist the shock of military discipline ; though a few individuals of them were undaunted and fierce, from the memory of past injuries, or the expectation of future ones. Some of these latter entered my house, about six o'clock, A. M. with pistols, to bring me out (as they said) to fight with them ; asked me where was my pike ; they saw no reason, they said, that I should indulge in quiet, while they exposed themselves for the defence of my property, &c. &c.

"So they took me out, and two honest men with me, I. and T. B.—, then my guests, and said that we should stand in front of the battle: if we would not fight we should stop a bullet. They took us beyond the bridge, to the side of the road; our people following us with their eyes and tender affection; several neighbours and faithful Mary Doyle (an old nurse) coming after, interceding for our return. They said that I could not be spared from home, and from the care of so many of the poor, who had taken sanctuary in my house; that, as to my fellow-prisoners, they ought to fight at home; it was unreasonable to expect them to fight *our* battles. I told the men, that, as to myself, I felt quite undisturbed, and I had no displeasure against them, who did it ignorantly; that they might put me to death, as I was in their hands but they would never persuade me to use any act of violence against my fellow-men. At length they were persuaded to liberate us.

"Now, they entertained the idea of whipping a man they called an *informer*, whom they had taken prisoner, and made preparations for it, on the principle of retaliation. After some persuasion, they were induced to relinquish this idea, *and declared that, though they had received very grievous treatment, they ought not to return evil for evil.* As I applauded this sentiment, I now began to have some place in their minds. It was satisfactory to find that they entertained no worse intent than obtaining redress to the grievances they complained of, such as the whipping and plundering committed on them by the military. As violence was likely to be inflicted on the soldiers' wives left in the town, I got leave to take them under my care; also George, a servant of Captain C—, a sick soldier, and another, who was servant to Lieut. Gore. The two young women, also Anne Gore and Anne Hemet, the latter a Jersey woman, wives to Gore and Hemet, lieutenants in the Suffolk Militia, shared the hospitality and protection of our house. Thus were we variously chequered; *people of all sides and all descriptions coming to us.* So that if provisions should hold out, our garrison was pretty well manned. Various alarms came to-day:—it was suggested that cannon were coming to destroy the house over our heads; the women fled out of the windows into the garden: and all was confusion and distraction while the panic held.

"My family mostly staid by me in the parlour: and supporting

quiet was witnessed, sufficient to allay the noise of the waves and the tumults of the people.

"The wretched people were now grown tired of their attempt : their leader, Capt. ———, had deserted them.

"26th, Seventh day.—As I found a disposition in the people to listen to terms, I took pains with my friends of peacemaking spirit, to prevail on the people to send to the commanding officer to sue for pardon. I drew up the following lines, which I proposed to the ———, and the people, and they heartily acceded in general. I told them it was no act of mine : I only proposed it to them : I wished them to return to peace ; but, whatever they did, they must take on themselves all the consequences. The lines were as follows :—

"The people of East Narra and Rheban, depending on Colonel Campbell's lenity, offer unconditional submission. They acknowledge they have been misled, and have perpetrated several acts of outrage, resentment, and retaliation ; which they are sorry for. They hope the severe measures used towards them will plead an excuse, as they prefer to die at once, than to be tormented to death. They hope the Colonel will now consider their case as entitled for their voluntary obedience to Royal mercy and clemency. They wish to return to their duty and to their lawful occupations on the same footing they formerly were.

"These lines were also shewn to the person commanding in the town ; he seemed not to approve of them, but said to me,—‘Don't interfere.’ However, they seemed to convey the voice of the people, and, as such, were sent by an express. Afterwards, the people seemed dissatisfied, unless some conditions were made for a liberation of prisoners, and J. B——— offered himself to go to Athy with further explanation ; but this was not allowed at the time proposed.

"The people said they would wait for the answer to the express. Insolence, even in (the possession of) a very precarious power, operates on the leaders in popular assemblies ; and the poor people are still miserable victims of their misguided measures. The express returned with the following answer :

"Colonel Campbell conveyed to Mr. J———, of Ballitore, his decision on this application of the deluded people of that place ;

and if they will lay down their arms of every kind, in front of the moat of Ards skull, this afternoon at six o'clock, and retire half a mile in the rear of it, Colonel Campbell will send out a party (as he proposed yesterday) to receive the arms, to prevent their falling into the hands of the disaffected. It gives the Colonel much pleasure to find, that the people have at last found out their error, and that they have been imposed on by designing men : and he will not fail to recommend their case to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, and he will, in the mean time, afford them every protection in his power. Their compliance with this proposal will save much blood, as they must now be convinced, from their late attacks on the outposts, how impossible it is to make any impression on a well-disciplined army.

“ COLIN CAMPBELL,

“ Colonel, commanding at Athy.

“ Athy, 26th May, 1798.

“ The yesterday's proposal, mentioned in the letter, was never generally communicated to the people ; or it appears that, besides their own caprice, they laboured under the curse of a deceitful mediator.

“ About six o'clock that evening, instead of the arms (as proposed) the people concluded on sending an ambassador of peace : and J. B. consented to go on their behalf. About eleven o'clock J. B. returned with the following lines from Colonel Campbell :

“ Colonel Campbell is disposed to treat with the deluded people of the county of Kildare, and there shall be a truce till twelve o'clock to-morrow, provided six of the most respectable of their people are sent here, on the return of friend J. B. to Ballitore, who shall be kept as hostages for the performance of the proposals within stated:— A return of the number in arms of the two Baronies who implore forgiveness to be sent to Colonel Campbell to-morrow at eight in the morning ; and this engagement will not be looked on as binding, if they afterwards admit any of their disaffected neighbours into the Baronies of East Narra and Rheban.

“ COLIN CAMPBELL, Colonel.

“ C. C.'s patrols with letters not to be intercepted.

“ This, coming so late, could not well be communicated to the people, who were scattered every where. I took it to the priest,

who lodged in the town, and who appeared all the day of wavering counsels, sometimes, *before us*, persuading the people to surrender, and at other times, *apart*, haranguing them to opposite measures: here was another mischief that attended the deluded people. Some of the principal men I had got that day closeted; they spoke reasonably, and were inclinable for treaty, more or less, according to their respective clearness of understanding.

“Whelan, a turbulent man, with a blunderbuss, greatly annoyed our domestic councils. As I spoke to the people from an upper window, to enforce the mild offers of government, I feared once that he would discharge his mischievous engine at me. But Providence preserved. Thus I am again tracing back the operations of the 26th in order to account for the fatality, which, like a fiery comet, drew a train of disastrous circumstances. These wavering counsels of some, and the hot spirits of others of our demagogues, occasioned that this last requisition came *too late* for the people to send in their hostages; for, though it was possible to collect *them*, yet, who could tell whether the people would, after all, comply with the terms? and thus the hostages were at stake for the deception, and the people would untimely perish. So it was concluded to send in the hostages in the morning.

“The morning arrived, full of portentous calamity to this neighbourhood. About three o’clock the priest called me up, and told me, the army was certainly at hand. On the first intimation of it, the people fled and dispersed on every hand; so that, if the hostages were then in time, it would be hard to collect them, and still harder to concentrate the wavering resolutions of the people. The poor priest appeared in great dismay. He requested to borrow my coat, but, when I went for it, he was gone. He fled towards Narramore; the lion was there; the thundering cannon had already been planted that morning early against Narramore house, the new unfinished mansion of Maurice Keatinge, which they (with the assistance of fire) demolished; Carrol and some others, who had taken shelter there, being either shot or dispersed. The priest now fled to Ephraim Boakes,* and hid in the garden; but, thinking that place!

* E. B. was an aged neighbour long since deceased, who had united his endeavours with those of A. S. and his friends, first to moderate, and then to protect the misguided people.—The army, which was approaching at this time, was from Carlow, lying in a direction opposite to Athy, where Colonel Campbell commanded.

unsafe, he lay down in one of the clumps before Ephraim's door, and there waited till the bitterness of death was past. But to return to Ballitore: as the army from Carlow, consisting of horse and foot, moved slowly down the hill, I proposed to J—— B——, that he and I should go forth to meet them; which we did, also the Phelps's and Samuel Eves, then with us. The commanding officer, Major Dennis, rode on to meet us with a pistol in his hand, and stopping near us, asked, who commanded in the town? He was answered by J—— B——, that 'the town had been for these few days in the hands of the Insurgents, but as to us,' said he, 'we are only passengers.'— 'It happened well for you, Gentlemen,' said he, 'that it is so, or I should have shot you every man.' (It appears that he had previously given orders to shoot every man in coloured clothes.)

"I was no passenger, yet I did not then find it prudent to set him right. He then desired that some beer or other refreshment should be had for the soldiers. We shewed him the letter we had from Colin Campbell, and got up Col. Wolseley, *then a lodger in my house*, to speak to him; thus his wrath was averted. He desired the army to halt: the officers rode up for drink, and they moved away.

"This woe past, the bitter cup of vengeance was handed from another quarter. Col. Campbell, not finding the hostages sent as he desired, marched his army in the night to patrol the country, and came down from Narramore on us, about five or six o'clock, bringing fire and desolation wherever they came. The houses were generally burned, and many of the people shot, I suppose, almost all who appeared, whether guilty or not of the crime of *disaffection*. The officers came into our house and recognized their old friends, while the soldiery were spreading terror among the people. Poor Hannah Haughton they plundered: her innocence pleading in vain for her. The soldiers had got information concerning the commander of the town; he (simple man!) met them in the street and was instantly put to death. The houses in the burrow were now consumed; the inhabitants hid and escaped. My neighbour, who had taken me prisoner two days before, now came on his knees to me: he had just escaped death; pleading merit for having saved the life of a soldier: by and by he and his wife came flying, and seemed closely pursued; as it was said, the wife had wounded a soldier, who attempted to take a ring from her and abuse her. I

told her, she must hide somewhere else out of the house, or it might be burned in their fury.

“ In a few minutes this dreadful scene opened and closed : and they passed on. It resembled the operation of lightning,—fierce and terrible, and over in a moment !

“ Colonel Campbell then led his army, clad in terrible array, round by Crookstown, spreading death and destruction wherever they came ; and so passed on to Athy : the ministration of vengeance being let fall on devoted Ballitore and its neighbourhood, notwithstanding that the most of the people, who were guilty of these outrages and of opposition to government, came from a distance. Thus, having suffered the woe of rebellion first, we fell under the greater woe of vindictive punishment. Here was an afflicting sight for the poor people to behold—all their little stock reduced to ashes !—the little provisions for their future wants ; for, some of them had not removed their goods ; others, more wisely, had foreseen the threatened calamity. Yet the survivors (so sweet is life !) consoled themselves that they were alive, and now only sought about to find what they could do to avert a repetition of the visit which might deprive them of life.

“ Ephraim Boakes and I undertook to treat for them, and we went to Athy. When we arrived there, we were congratulated that we were alive ; they had been told that when the army withdrew, the rebels had returned and burned every house which the army had spared :—this we were able to contradict. Anne Gore and Anne Hemet were particularly overjoyed to see me, and met me with hugs and embraces ; the polite Colonel Wolseley and his lady made grateful acknowledgments for our care of them. My beloved friend Dorcas Fitzgerald I was glad to see, and she me ; also dear T. and D. Chandley, and many more : — Affliction unites in one. Col. Campbell received well our proffered treaty. It was concluded, that he should come with a detachment of troops, to the high ground on the road at Ards skull, on the 4th day following, at twelve o'clock ; that all persons, desirous of laying down their arms, should deposit them on the gravel hill in Ballindrum bog, and retire to the road on Ballindrum hill ; that when the officer had taken up the arms, the people should come forward in a body and sign an engagement for future good conduct : Colonel Campbell should then immediately

recommend them to government: and the utmost possible lenity should be used towards them: Two hostages should be sent to Athy that day to confirm the good resolutions of the people. These terms, after some conversation with the Colonel, in which he spoke kindly and mildly, we carried home; and met the people at an hour appointed for reading them. The people rejoiced at the very sound of peace, and promised, that if any hereafter should conceal arms, or attempt to destroy their loyalty, they would lend every aid to take up such persons and bring them to justice. They were then sent home to convince all their neighbours; for which the day following was allowed; and they were desired to come on 4th day morning, with their weapons of every kind, that Ephraim and I might conduct them to the place appointed. With this they cheerfully complied. We met the Colonel and his troops: the whole business was conducted with good order; the people gratefully received the gracious smiles and approbation of the Colonel; protections were given separately to every respective townland; and the people came away as after a triumphant victory. The insidious artifices of one man (Mich. Walter) had like to have disconcerted the whole plan: he came riding post haste, as express, to tell the people, that, if they staid there, they were all to be killed; and for this, he said, he had orders from General Dundas; but his villainous artifice was defeated by the activity of Ephraim Boakes; the man was taken and given up to the Colonel, who ordered him to be conducted to Athy.

“ At the time the arms were given in, A. S. handed the following address to Col. Campbell:

“ ‘ Abraham Shackleton begs leave to address Colonel Campbell on a subject that is of vast importance, as he conceives, to the general weal—the preservation of the people. He has seen with great anxiety, old distinctions of religious names revived. He believes that there does not exist that dark spirit of persecution among the people which is attributed to them, but a spirit of retaliation, in many, for real or imagined injuries. It is said, that they had formed a conspiracy for a general massacre: no such disposition was apparent the two days that we of this town were entirely in their power. Why did they not proceed then to a massacre? Why did they not revenge the injuries they said they had received? They spared to whip one man, who, they said, was an informer;—They

forbore to whip the soldiers' wives, when that cruel retaliation was suggested by the women of the town :—They offered no injuries to the officers' wives in my house, nor to the sick soldier and two officers' servants with me. A. S. believes that no such conspiracy exists, and that it is conceived only in the fears of men of property, who are alarmed at the thoughts of losing it. He believes that by mild treatment the people may be made useful to us, and happy in themselves. They have found the folly of resistance. They are used to live low—*facilem victu per secula gentem*. Let them live, and live comfortably ;—they will not aspire higher ; they will be hands and feet to us. Indeed all orders and classes of society want reformation.—If the money laid out in spacious buildings, cultivating fine gardens, and pleasure grounds, were some of it expended in cultivating the morals of the people, what a happy harvest of blessings would it not produce to the cultivators ? If the rich did not insult the poor by their wanton extravagance and riot, the two orders of society would coalesce, and religious distinctions would not be so much as thought of.”

From the foregoing narrative it appears that the pacific labours of this worthy Friend and his associates were blessed in many instances. An inmate and relative of his family thus expresses herself : “ Neighbours, rich and poor, and persons of all parties, a hundred in all, sheltered peacefully together under my brother's roof. Some of these were prisoners captured on their journey : one of their carriages being drawn down and their luggage carried—all safely deposited, persons and property, with my brother.”

“ Col. Wolseley and his lady, the wives of two lieutenants, also the wives of two privates, and a sick soldier, were in this way protected under his roof, whilst their enemies had possession of the town. And when the place was given up to the fury of the soldiers, to be pillaged and burnt, an officer, who had been at Ballitore School, had placed centinels to protect the houses of Friends : the house of one poor female they forgot, till it was too late to save her little property from destruction.

“ When I first saw our house filling with the Insurgents, soon after they came in, I told them I was frightened at the sight of so many armed men : and, without shewing displeasure, they answered, ‘ We

will be off *in a shot*,' (meaning *directly*) and presently withdrew, after they had got milk ; and one of them cut the bread I brought out, distributing it among them with the advice, 'Be decent, boys, be decent.' I met with this man afterwards, as he stood a sentinel, and threatened to shoot a man of his own party, who walked beside me, if he passed the bounds. I asked him, if I went on, would he shoot me? He expressed affectionate surprise at my asking such a question, and pronounced a eulogium on Quakers. I told him it would be well if they were all of our way of thinking ; for then there would be no such work as the present. His reply, incoherent as it was, I could understand, 'Aye, but you know—our Saviour—the scourges—Oh! the scourges!'"

"The Insurgents sometimes attempted to soothe our female fears, shaking us by the hand, and declaring they would burn those that would burn us. My mother, in her state of second childhood, was respectfully treated by them ; also, when the army came, a soldier begged leave of his officers to visit 'the old mistress : '—he had been quartered on her. The Insurgents took our bridles and saddles, but nothing else besides food. A man, with a naked sword, demanded from me my own riding mare ; I told him, I had lent her to one of the officers ; and another vouching for my veracity, he was satisfied and went away. Others applied for any thing of a green colour. I told them we could not join any party.—'What, not the strongest?'—'No, none at all.' And though our tables were covered with green cloths, they forbore to urge the request."

In addition to this testimony, the author is credibly informed, "that A. S. and his colleagues in the work of peace, continued to interpose their good offices afterwards, when judicial proceedings were gleaning the refuse of the sword ; and had the satisfaction of contributing to save many of their neighbours from death. A man who was tried by a court martial, ascribed his acquittal to a note in his favour from the sister of A. S. The officer who took it, glanced at the signature, and exclaimed that women cared not what they said ; and then, observing the date, remarked, *that it was from a Quaker, and that Quakers never lie.*"

A FRIEND of great respectability in the county of Westmeath, living in a wild thinly inhabited district, not far from the town of Moate, has given the following striking testimony from his own observations at that period.—“ All those in this quarter *who professed principles* of peace, were marvellously spared from extreme suffering; some living in solitary places surrounded by that class who were very generally in a state of rebellion. Some, so circumstanced, could not leave their usual habitations, though strongly urged by their few Protestant neighbours to flee with them to garrison towns. O! the heart rending scenes some such have witnessed; their neighbours, running hither and thither with their families and goods, and calling upon me to flee from certain destruction! Yet some were favoured with faith and patience to abide in their lots, conscientiously adhering to the revealed law of their God; and thus did experience, to their humbling admiration, the name of the Lord to be a strong tower, in which they found safety. I could, with wonder, love, and praise, relate some marvellous deliverances mercifully vouchsafed to me when surrounded by numerous, and, at other times, by smaller bodies of armed men in open rebellion, and when no human being of any other description was near; yet through divine aid, and that alone, was I enabled to refuse to take up arms or take their oaths, or join them, assigning as a reason that I could not fight nor swear *for* or *against* them. They threatened—they pondered—they debated,—marvelled, and ultimately liberated me, though they said I was in the power of many thousands then assembled.

“ When travelling alone, I have sometimes seen such people armed with pikes; we have looked seriously at each other, and passed without speaking.”

BATTLE OF ROSS.

ACCORDING to the testimony of a respectable inhabitant of Ross, Friends of this town were placed in a different situation from some others of their religious profession in other parts of the county of Wexford; inasmuch as the town was occupied by a large military force, and not at any period in the possession of the Insurgents, except partially and at intervals during the day of the memorable battle

which continued with but little cessation for nearly the space of twelve hours. For a considerable part of this time, it was matter of awful uncertainty which party would ultimately prevail. But, at the very juncture when the town was mostly abandoned by the King's troops, who, from the violence and great length of the conflict, together with the intense heat of the weather and other causes, had become so fatigued and exhausted, as generally to give it up, and to retire to the bridge, in order to secure their retreat into Munster, the assailing multitude, composed of many thousands, were observed to betake themselves to flight, without any apparent cause, either then or since discovered. On being assured of this remarkable circumstance, the King's troops were prevailed upon to return; and they took possession of their former posts, under some degree of astonishment at finding themselves left undisputed masters of the town. General Johnson, who commanded, is reported to have said, that the success of that day was to be referred to Providence, and *was not the work of man.*

During this bloody conflict, in which it is stated from good authority that upwards of 2000 persons were killed, the town was set on fire in different quarters, and the flames spread with such uncontrolled fury, as to threaten a frightful devastation. Yet amidst so many imminent and combined dangers, Friends were generally preserved in a quiet and resigned state of dependence upon that Almighty Power which could alone afford protection in such an awful crisis. Protection was, indeed, wonderfully experienced, as was foretold by several ministers of the Society, during their religious labours in the country, some years before this calamity took place. One Friend, in particular was heard to declare in Gospel authority, "that in a time of trial, which was approaching, if Friends kept their places, many would be glad to take shelter under the skirts of their garments." This prediction was now literally fulfilled: for, many respectable neighbours, on the evening of the battle, apprehending themselves not so secure in their own houses as in those of Friends, flocked, with their families, to the latter, thinking the insurgents would probably return and make another attack on the town in the night. Some of them, belonging to an armed association, and clad in a military garb, readily acquiesced with the proprietors' remonstrances, and assumed a dress of more

peaceable appearance. And there was reason to believe, that after experiencing such an unexpected deliverance, their minds* were made sensible that the power or strength of man was at such a time of little avail, and that Providence alone was able to protect and to rescue from such imminent danger.

Many facts might be stated, to shew the impressions which the people, or at least those who were apprehensive for their personal safety, generally entertained, that the peaceable dress of the Society would afford protection in these perilous times: the following instance may be mentioned.

In the house of a Friend, near Enniscorthy, there lodged a Protestant Clergyman, a man of sober moral character, with his wife. When he saw the danger approaching, he requested that the clothes of a Friend might be given him, expecting that in such a dress he might be preserved, or at least might be able to effect his escape. But it was remarked to him that such a disguise could be of no advantage; and he hid himself in the garden, by the river side, where he was found and murdered.

BATTLE OF ANTRIM.

The town of Antrim was the only considerable place in the North, during the year of the Rebellion, in which any members of the Society were placed in serious difficulties, immediately between the contending parties. One family, however, consisting of a very young man, and his sisters, whose father was then engaged in a religious visit in America, was preserved in a remarkable manner during the conflict which took place in this town.

On the day of the battle, when it was announced that the Rebels were approaching, few of the regular army being then in the place, expresses were sent off in different quarters for assistance. A regiment of cavalry arrived before the commencement of the engagement, but was not able to make any effectual stand against the force opposed to it. Orders were issued to the inhabitants to close their doors and windows, and to remain in their houses. About one o'clock in the day, the Rebels marched into the town; and their appearance caused a general dismay, so that horror seemed to be pictured in every countenance.

It was the design of this family to remain in their house, until they discovered that the action had commenced, and that the Insurgents' cannon was placed in the street directly opposite to their door. As the house seemed to be in imminent danger, they thought of taking refuge in the fields. This step would, however, have been attended with great personal risk, and was happily prevented; for the yard was so full of Rebels that the family could not well pass by them: and after making an effort to escape, the females returned into the house; but their brother was shut out amongst the crowd. And, notwithstanding they were in the heat of action at the time, they neither asked him to take up arms and join them, nor did they offer him the least degree of violence. He afterwards got into the stable, and endeavoured to secure himself by holding down the latch with his hand till one of his sisters ventured out and brought him into the house,—to their great joy, as they never expected to see him again alive.

Immediately after they had given up the intention of going into the fields, and were entering the house, a wounded Rebel came in along with them and stayed with them the remaining time of the engagement. Though they endeavoured to perform the duties of humanity to a suffering fellow-creature, they felt their situation to be full of difficulty as well as of danger on his account, not knowing how soon his enemies might prevail, and find him under their protection. The Rebel, who was a respectable person, strove to encourage them by saying, they need not be at all alarmed, for that, he was sure, as they were an inoffensive people, and did not meddle on either side, they would not meet with any injury.

At this time the Rebels had gained possession of the town, having obliged the regiment of Cavalry to retreat, after a very deadly encounter, in which about one third of the regiment, in the short space of a few minutes, was either killed or severely wounded; but it was not long before a reinforcement of the Monaghan and Tipperary Militia entered the town; and, seeing the Rebels beginning to yield they acted with great cruelty, neither distinguishing friends nor enemies, but destroying every one who appeared in coloured clothes. In a very short time they dispersed the Insurgents, and retook the town.

Numbers, who were not in any way concerned, lost their lives,

for the soldiers showed pity to none : they fired into the houses of the inhabitants, and killed many : those who took refuge in the fields suffered severely.

When the firing had almost ceased, the family above noticed concluded it would be much safer for the Rebel who had taken shelter with them to try to make his escape : for the probability was, that if he should be found in the house, at such a time, he would not only suffer *himself*, but be the occasion of the family suffering also. He made his escape accordingly, and was saved.

Not many minutes after, a number of soldiers came to the door, knocked furiously at it, and demanded entrance immediately, insisting that the family should all come forward and shew themselves, in order that it might be known whether there were any strangers in the house. The door was opened accordingly, and they were immediately surrounded by a great number of soldiers. Their appearance was very frightful : they were just come from the heat of the battle ; their faces besmeared with gunpowder, and the expression of their countenances corresponding with the work of death in which their hands had just been engaged. One of them said he wanted to see if he appeared "*Devil-enough-like* : " he looked at his face in the glass, and observed—" he thought he did appear quite enough so." They inquired, if all the individuals of the family were present, and if any strangers were in the house. Some of them were going up stairs to search : but an officer, who lived near, told them, they should not make any search : " that the Quakers were people that would not tell a lie—that their words might be taken—and, therefore, if any strangers were in the house, that they would not be denied." Indeed, their manner was so kind and civil as to excite the astonishment of the family : especially as many others had experienced very different treatment.

They now brought into the house a poor wounded soldier, and gave him into the care of the family. Part of his bowels had forced their way out through a wound made by a musket ball. Every possible attention was paid to him, and he was very thankful for it, but died the next morning, after suffering great pain.

The town presented an awful appearance after the battle : the bodies of men and horses were lying in the blood-stained streets ; and the people were to be seen here and there saluting their

neighbours—like those who survived a pestilence or an earthquake—as if they were glad to see each other alive, after the recent calamity.

The same night nearly a troop of soldiers came to the door to let the family know “they need not be at all alarmed; for that they should be protected—that the soldiers would be riding through the streets all night, and would take care they should not be molested.”

After this the inhabitants were kept in a state of constant alarm for many days, not knowing when another attack might be made upon the town; fresh orders were repeatedly given to close up their doors and windows, and to prepare for another engagement. In the meanwhile the army were *racking* many houses, and taking away the property. They carried off the shop-goods of a Friend living in a *suspected* quarter of the town, but did not hurt any of his family. The young man, who, with his sisters, was so critically circumstanced, as is above related, interceded for his friend with the commanding officer; but the latter would not prevent the soldiers from plundering, saying, “he is a Quaker, and will not fight; therefore the men must be allowed to take his goods.”

A brother of the same Friend living in a part of the town which was not considered so rebellious, received no harm, and suffered no loss of property.

Owing to the bad character which that part of the town where the young man and his sisters lived had obtained, orders were issued that it should be burned. Some of the houses had already been destroyed on the morning of the battle; but it was now a fearful thing to have the houses of a whole street condemned to pillage and the flames; as many innocent persons would undoubtedly suffer, and numbers would be left without a place of shelter. For, in this calamitous period, the poor destitute wanderer, whether innocent or guilty, who was deprived of a home, either by accident or design, was always an object of suspicion, and, if not in military attire, was liable to be shot.

The commanding officer was riding up the street to give the orders; and one of the young women of the family thought she would venture through the crowd and speak to him: some of the town's people had indeed kindly urged her to make the application. She walked up to him accordingly, and with great simplicity asked him, “If their house was to be burned:” he replied, “I have

received very bad treatment from the inhabitants of this quarter of the town; but you shall not be disturbed. I will make them *rack* the houses about your house, and save yours." After this, without their knowledge, a yeoman was sent to stand at their door, while the destruction was going forward near them.

Notwithstanding the officer's commands, the army seemed disposed, many times afterwards, to plunder their house; but the neighbours always interfered, saying, "they were inoffensive people, not connected with any party, and that their father was in America."

On one occasion the soldiers came for the express purpose of *racking* the house, and had their weapons ready to break the windows. But the neighbours, some of whom were yeomen, stepped forward in their behalf, so that not even a shilling's worth was taken from them, nor did any of the family receive the slightest personal injury.

The following remarkable circumstance deserves to be recorded in relation to this family. It is given upon unquestionable authority:—

At the time their father, then in a weak state of health, was preparing to leave Ireland, for the purpose of paying a religious visit to America, a minister of the Society expressed himself in prayer, at a Quarterly Meeting, to this effect: he said, "he was led to appear in supplication on behalf of a dear brother who was going to a distant country, he might say, as with his life in his hands: that the Lord, he trusted, would be with him, and would lay out his work day after day; that he would be enabled to perform acceptably what was designed for him to do, and would return to his family and friends, with the reward of peace in his own bosom; experiencing Him who was his morning light to be his evening song. But that in his absence the sword would be near his house, and the dead bodies would be lying in the streets; and, at the time, neither hurt nor harm would befall his family: for the Lord would encamp about them, and preserve them, as in the hollow of his hand, from the rage and fury of the enemy."—These things were literally accomplished.

In connexion with the battle of Antrim, it is peculiarly gratifying to be enabled to communicate a few particulars relating to what occurred at the Moravian settlement near it. The incident proves that the same principles of conduct will lead to the same practical effects, whether maintained by one Society of Christians or by another; and the author is indebted for it to an intelligent female, who resided for some time at Gracehill amongst the Moravians themselves.

“ You request me to inform you of what I know respecting the Moravians, and their great objection to war, or any party work whatever. This I can clearly do from a long residence among them, during which time I never knew one of the members of their Society summoned to sessions or any other court of law; which, from their being so numerous, is rather a wonderful thing in unfortunate Ireland. Their aim and wish is to live peaceably and industriously under the existing government, not meddling with politics or affairs of state; they having a much higher object in view—the training of souls for the inheritance of glory.

“ You may remember an anecdote I used to tell you of good old Mr. Fredlezius (the minister) during the Rebellion of 1798, and a few days before the battle of Antrim; when a party of ragged United Irishmen came to Gracehill, and told him, that unless the brethren *joined them*, they would burn the settlement and murder the whole community, and said, that in a few weeks, *all* Ireland would be theirs, as the French had landed to restore them to their rights, and that unless they became of their party and took up arms, they would not allow them an inch of ground in the island. But poor dear old Fredlezius, who had not time to half-dress himself, came out among them in his *red night-cap*; and trusting that God would soon deliver them out of the hands of such a mob, coolly said, “ Well, well, my friends, be peaceable, and *when you be de cock we be de chickens*; come into the inn and refresh yourselves.” And, indeed, they did so, drinking all they could. They then went to the shop, carried off all the green stuff and ribbons they could get, and said they would come again soon for the final answer as to what party they would join; and, if not theirs, they would reduce the place to ashes, and murder the whole set. They did assuredly come, not many days after; they arrived in multitudes, and drew

up in front of the sisters' house, while the poor sisters had all assembled in their prayer-hall to implore God to protect them; and momentarily expecting those ruffians to break in on them. At this conjuncture some dragoons galloped past with accounts to Ballymena, that the rebels were beaten at Antrim, and would soon be annihilated. This so terrified the ragged rabble that they took flight in all directions, leaving the good Moravians to bless and magnify that God who had so providentially preserved them."

[The Rev. C. Ignatius La Trobe, Secretary of the Moravian Missions, having been applied to on behalf of the Peace Society for such further information respecting the preservation of the Moravian settlements from military outrage with which he might be acquainted, has obligingly made the following communication :—]

19, *Bartlett's Buildings*, April 8, 1828.

"DEAR SIR,—You have desired me to add some particulars to the account given at p. 137* of your little work, by an "intelligent female," who had resided some time among the Moravians at Gracehill (their settlement in the north of Ireland), respecting the manner in which they were preserved from harm in the rebellion of 1798. Your correspondent justly describes them as giving the glory of their deliverance to the mercy and power of God alone; and their and our hearts are filled with gratitude whenever we call to mind the many proofs of His goodness, experienced during that dreadful period.

"I would the more willingly comply with your request were I able to refer to the Journals and Reports then sent to all our congregations in manuscript, but never printed. They are, however, not now within my reach. You will, therefore, kindly accept of the imperfect accounts my memory may enable me to furnish.

"The jury in Carrickfergus, having been required by the Government to give their opinion as to the disposition of the inhabitants of that region, had stated, that the Moravian Brethren at Gracehill might be considered as truly loyal subjects; which was indeed the case, as they wished in this, as in all things, conscientiously to obey the injunctions given in the word of God.

"This declaration, of course, gave great umbrage to many leaders of the rebellion: and it is said, that the destruction of Gracehill was determined upon in their councils. I must observe that I am unable to quote dates, and you will excuse my mentioning events as they occur to my mind. I have heard that when Mr. Fredlezius, the warden, who was a man of a remarkably calm and unoffending character, heard of the approach of the first party of rebels, he went out to meet them, and addressing their captain, a man of ferocious appearance, said—'Do you come as friends, or as enemies?' After some demur, the captain answered—'As friends to be sure; what would you have us to be?' Mr. Fredlezius then held out his hand, which the captain took, assuring him that they meant to do no mischief if they were only supplied with victuals, arms, and ammunition. They were told, that they had been obliged to deliver up all their fire-arms and gunpowder by the king's troops. The party then entered the shop, took all the green ribband they could find, and, being supplied with food and drink, marched off.

* Of the second edition of this Work.

"Another party of several hundreds, worse in disposition than the former, paid them a second visit, as described by your correspondent; from which they were delivered, as related by her.

"The destruction of Toome Bridge, over the river Bann, connecting the counties Derry and Antrim, by the rebels themselves, prevented hundreds of those in Derry from joining their comrades in Antrim, which the Brethren in Gracehill considered a providential circumstance. As success declared itself in favour of either party alternately, the friends of both were at a loss whither to fly for safety. To the surprise of the Brethren, Gracehill became the general asylum. The leaders of both parties had charged the inhabitants not to suffer any fugitives to enter their dwellings. When they, therefore, arrived with their goods, on cars or in waggons, they had no place of shelter, but either in sheds, or under cover of their vehicles, which filled the square. Rebels and king's men lay close to each other in the same distress, and were both treated with humanity by the inhabitants. It happened that some, flying along the streets, threw their purses and money into the houses, and made sure of their being restored by the unknown inmates. Such was the confidence of all in those honest Christian people.

"Respecting our settlements on the Continent, I am at a still greater loss as to dates, but the instances of God's preservation of our defenceless places and their inhabitants, are numerous. The battle of Bautzen, in which the Russians and Prussians were defeated by Bonaparte, might have ended in the destruction of our settlement at Kleinwelcke, had it been otherwise decided. The French made it the receptacle of the sick and wounded. Their subsequent invasion of Silesia brought Gnadenberg into still greater danger. It was twice plundered; and on a representation being made to Bonaparte, he is said to have declared, that as the Moravian brethren and he himself had one common end in view,—the establishment of general peace throughout all the world,—they should not be molested. He ordered the names of the four Silesian settlements to be written down, and promised them safety. Gnadenberg was at that time exposed to great danger, from balls and shells flying over, and entering the streets and houses. Herrnhut, in Upper Lusatia, was spared, being the resort, by turns, of general staffs of both armies, by which, however, immense expense was incurred. I will only relate one instance of their preservation among many:—A party, above a thousand strong, of Russians or Poles, I forget which, had encamped in the garden and premises behind the house of the Single Sisters. They were excessively wild, and no kind treatment seemed to make much impression upon them. Having threatened, as soon as it should grow dark, to seize upon the house, and their officers declaring that they could not restrain their men, the inhabitants were in the utmost state of consternation. Their only hope was in God, to whom they had recourse in fervent prayer, trusting to His mercy. About sunset an order arrived from the general, commanding the whole party to join the main army near Zittau without a moment's delay. Thus speedy deliverance was wrought, and surely none could deny that the Lord had heard the prayers of his children offered up in their deep distress.

"I have thus endeavoured, in some degree, to satisfy your wishes, and trust that I have not made any mistatements.

"I am, Dear Sir,

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. IG. LA TROBE."

"To Mr. John Bewans."

I shall conclude this chapter with an anecdote communicated to me by a valuable friend, who felt himself placed in a situation, which exposed him to a kind of trial, different, in many respects, from what others had to experience, in support of the testimony against War. It not only shews the delicacy of those religious feelings which may arise in truly devoted minds, and the benefit of yielding them faithful obedience, but may afford a useful lesson to others to attend to the pointings of duty in themselves, even when their nearest friends may not see things exactly in the same light. We cannot doubt that this conscientious individual was far from indulging a disposition to condemn any of his brethren who might not have taken a similar view of the case. Yet a little reflection, it is presumed, must point out to every one the reasonableness of his religious scruples on the subject:—

“At the time when we were under the power of the military, and the civil authorities suspended, the town of C—— was threatened, or in expectation of being attacked. On walking out one day, I observed, posted up in various places, a printed order from the General, in the following terms: ‘*In case of alarm in the night the inhabitants are required to place lights in the middle stories of their houses. The most severe and instantaneous punishment will be inflicted on such as neglect to comply with this order.*’ A cloud of distress came over my mind on reading this notice. I knew that the ‘*Light in the windows*’ was, that the soldiers might discern the enemy and be able to fight; and ‘*the most severe and instantaneous punishment*’ was a license to the soldiers to put all instantly to death, where this order was not complied with. As I could not fight myself, I found I dare not hold a light for another to fight for me. This would be taking a more active part in a contest than I was easy to do; and how to act was a nice and difficult point. I informed Friends how I felt; but I found they did not all see alike, and few thought themselves so restricted as I did. At length, after some days, I felt inclined to go to the General myself; so, asking a friend to accompany me, I went to him. He received us in a civil manner, and patiently heard me whilst I told him, that as I could not fight myself, I was not easy to hold a candle for another to do it for me. I believe he perceived the distress of my mind, and the first thing he said, was, ‘I think it is a pity you did not let me know your

uneasiness sooner.' He asked me, if I came on behalf of the Society of Quakers in the town, or was it only the uneasiness of a few? I told him I did not come on behalf of the body at large. He said that he had issued the order as consistent with his duty as commanding officer, and having issued it, he could not well rescind it now; but said, if I would furnish him with the names of such Friends as were uneasy to comply with the order, and where they lived, he would endeavour to have them protected in case of alarm. I told him that perhaps there were some, who could not say, till the time of trial came, how far they might be easy to comply or not, and then it would be too late. Then, with much condescension and kindness, he desired me to furnish him with the names of all the members of the Society in the town; he would endeavour that they should not suffer for non-compliance with his order. This I complied with: but the town not being attacked, the General's kind intentions were not called forth. It was, however, I thought, a memorable circumstance, that a General, in the midst of commotion, should so patiently listen to my reasons for not complying with his order, and promise as far as he could to protect us. As well as I can now remember, he went so far as to say, he did not think he should have issued the order just as he did, if he knew it would have given Friends so much uneasiness."

END OF PART IV.

Tract No. IX. Part III. of the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace.

THE
PRINCIPLES OF PEACE
EXEMPLIFIED
IN THE CONDUCT OF
THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN IRELAND,

During the Rebellion of the Year 1798

WITH
SOME PRELIMINARY AND CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

—◆—
BY
THOMAS HANCOCK, M. D.

—◆—
IN THREE PARTS.
PART III.

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THE

PRINCIPLES OF PEACE, &c,

PART III.

CHAP. VI.

Of the General Preservation of the Society during the Rebellion.

THE Society of Friends is scattered over three Provinces in Ireland. In these, viz. Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, many of its members were brought into immediate contact with one or both of the hostile parties, in towns, villages, and retired country places. Some, it must also be acknowledged, were living with little more than an outward or formal profession of the principle against War, held as one of its Christian tenets by the Society; in fact, they submitted to the opinion of their friends, and followed traditionally the maxims of their education, without feeling such strong conviction of the indispensable duty which this principle enjoined, as would have made them willing to part with their liberty or property, much less with their lives, rather than to violate such an important testimony.

In this great variety of circumstances and of perils to which they were exposed, it is natural enough to inquire whether the Society lost any of its members? We are enabled to answer this question by an authentic document, issued by the Yearly Meeting in Dublin, which contains the following passage: "It is worthy of commemoration, and cause of humble thankfulness to the Preserver of men, that, amidst the carnage and destruction which frequently prevailed in some parts, and, notwithstanding the jeopardy in which some Friends stood every hour, and, that they had frequently to pass through violent and enraged men, in going to and returning from our religious meetings (which with very few exceptions, were constantly kept up), that the lives of the members of our Society were so signally preserved."

And in the same document, an extract is given from the Epistle from the Yearly Meeting held in Dublin in 1801, addressed to the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, which states that "It was cause of grateful acknowledgment to the God and Father of all our mercies, that, in retrospection to that gloomy season, when, in some places, Friends did not know but that every day would be their last, seeing and hearing of so many of their neighbours being put to death, that no member of our Society fell a sacrifice in that way *but one young man.*"

That an exception should thus be made of one young man, in the accidents or allotments of a Society composed of some thousands, is in itself a remarkable occurrence : and every one must be curious to know under what circumstances the death of this individual took place.

There are some cases in which an apparent exception confirms the law : and we are much mistaken, if, in this particular instance, the very exception will not be found to establish the principle, so far from weakening its practical force.

His name, as well as the place where this individual suffered, are well known : but it would not be consistent with the object of this narrative to publish them to the world. As the names of those, who might be entitled to a little commendation, in so far as they acted in obedience to their principles, are generally concealed, it is the more necessary to shield from public notice the memory of one, whose untimely death, following, as it did, his deviation from these principles, formed so notable an exception.

This young man, apprehending that his life was in danger, and that he could find no protection but by outward means of defence, took up the resolution accordingly to put on a military uniform, and to associate with armed men. He told his connexions, that they would all be murdered if they remained in such a defenceless state in the country ; and, taking with him some papers of consequence, he fled to a neighbouring garrison-town. But it so happened that the very town* he chose as a place of refuge, was attacked and taken by the Insurgents ; and, from the most credible information that can be collected, it appears that, when the contest was over, and he was wantonly firing out of a window upon them, the door of the house

* Situated in the county of Kildare.

was forced open by the enraged enemy ; and in terror of his life, he sought to conceal himself in an upper chamber, where he was soon discovered, and put to death. It has been stated, I know not whether on sufficient authority, that he was marked, some time before, for his inconsistency and party spirit, by those whom, in consequence of his decided opposition, he had thus made his enemies ; and, that he was formally threatened, if he persisted in such rash conduct, that he should lose his life.

Pitiable young man !—How little did he know what was for his real good ! He left his home and the wise instructions of his parents ; thinking they would afford no protection in this time of peril. He calculated upon a short-sighted policy, as it proved ; though he followed the usual maxims of the world ;—and what was the result ? The means he took for his preservation proved his ruin. The dress and arms in which he was accoutred, were his greatest enemies ; they spoke the language of hostility, and invited it. The power in which he trusted failed him as in a moment. On the other hand, the relations he abandoned were saved : their peaceful principles were to them as a tower and shield ; and their solitary home, though unfurnished with outward defences, proved in the end a place of safety.

It scarcely perhaps deserves to be mentioned, but the fact appears to have a remote affinity to the immediate subject, and may afford some instruction,—that a member of the Society, who, under the influence of an improper curiosity, looked out of a window, during, or just after, an engagement, was shot at and wounded in the chest, but that he recovered.

On the other hand, the preservation of some, who seemed to be in more immediate danger, was remarkable : Two Friends, who had been travelling, and were entering the town of Kilcullen, just as a battle was commencing, stood in the open street during the engagement ; and, though they ran a risk of being shot by the sentinel, on entering the town, as well as by the contending parties, in the heat of action, were happily preserved.

At Baltiboys, in the county of Wicklow, an elderly person was killed during the Rebellion, who had been a short time before dis-united for inconsistency in his conduct, and had meddled imprudently in political matters.

The following affecting narrative contains a few particulars relative to two brothers, named John and Samuel Jones, who were put to death by the Insurgents, on the day of the burning of Scullabogue-barn, in the lawn near it.

Although the event it records may not at first sight appear to have any proper connexion with the subject of this publication, and even, to some, to militate against the principles advocated in it; yet it is considered that a closer view will point out the application: and, as truth is sacred and ought not to be disguised, the insertion of the fact may serve at least to take away presumption from those, who might be induced to look for preservation, as the *necessary* effect of peaceable conduct. No such impression as the last is meant to be conveyed.

Samuel Jones, the younger of the two, had attended the meetings of Friends, and was considered to make no other profession of religion. Their father, having married out of the Society, lost his membership in consequence; and Samuel, though feeling an attachment to it, had never applied for admission. But if unconquerable faith and fortitude in the hour of extremity, could entitle any one to the name of martyr, his name and the circumstances of his death deserve to be recorded, as affording an instructive example of Christian heroism; and he might have been justly regarded as a worthy associate of any Christian community. They lived at Kilbraney, near Old Ross, in the county of Wexford.

Samuel was of a meek and tender spirit, and remarked for the benevolence of his disposition. At one period he had applied himself closely to the perusal of Fox's Martyrology, and other religious books; thus fortifying his mind, as it were, against the day of trial. As the preparations for the impending conflict were going forward, he became very thoughtful, apprehending that some serious calamity would befall him from the Insurgents. About a month before the lamentable event took place, he told his wife that he did not expect to die upon his bed: and on one occasion, having, with her, accompanied some young women to their place of abode, who were gay and lively, he remarked, with much seriousness, "How little do these poor creatures know what is before them!" The last time he attended the Meeting at Forrest, it appeared as if he considered it to be a final parting with his friends.

Shortly after this, as the troubles increased, and danger became

more imminent, he was urged by his Protestant neighbours to fly for refuge to the adjacent garrison-town of New Ross : but he and his wife thought it right to remain at their own residence.

He was taken prisoner, soon after, with his elder brother John, and conveyed to the mansion of F. King, of Scullabogue, his wife accompanying them. John lamented his situation and former manner of life, signifying that he was ill prepared to die ; but Samuel encouraged him by repeating the declaration of our Saviour, " He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it."

The house where they were imprisoned was close to the noted barn, in which, within a few days after they were taken, a number of their fellow-creatures were horribly burnt to death.* Like many others confined there, they had little to eat ; and his wife, having procured a loaf of bread, brought it to him : but being more inclined to sleep than to eat, he placed it under his head, intending to reserve it till he awoke ; and whilst he slept, it was conveyed away. When he awoke, and his wife was lamenting the loss of it at such a time of need, he patiently answered her, " God who has permitted the food to be taken away, can likewise take away hunger." But afterwards, as he was walking about the room, his foot struck against a plate of potatoes, which lay concealed under some clothes, and, though cold, *to them* they were delicious. A New Testament, which they had with them, afforded them much comfort. On the morning of the day when the barn was set on fire—which was also the day of the battle of Ross,—as they were reading in the New Testament, Samuel's wife inquired of one of their guards the cause of the peculiar smell, like burning animal matter, which she perceived. He told her it proceeded from some beef steaks they were preparing

* The following fact is supposed to indicate that the massacre of the Protestants at Scullabogue, to the number of two hundred and upwards, by burning some in the barn, and shooting others in the lawn, was not the effect of a sudden impulse, but of a preconcerted plan, to which even some of the Protestant generals of the rebels were not privy: two days before the massacre, a member of the Society, of Scar, whose son was either taken, or went with the United Irishmen, to their camp, apprehending that he had influence with one of their generals, B. B. Harvey (himself a Protestant) to get off his son, repaired to Scullabogue and spoke to the General. But the power of the latter being in some things merely nominal, he directed him to go to the priest, whose name was Roche, saying " He could do nothing for him." Not being satisfied to do so, the Friend returned home. But whilst he was waiting for the General, he saw the two brothers Jones in the house ; and as he was attempting to go into the room where they were confined, he was pulled suddenly back by a man named Fitzhenry, who told him, that "*if he went into that room, he would never come out alive.*"

for breakfast ! To a further inquiry she made, " what was meant by the firing of guns ?" he replied, " 'Tis some criminals we are shooting." " And will they shoot us ?" said the poor woman. " Oh ! may be they will spare you till the last," was his answer.

In about five minutes after this, the three were taken out.

The Rebel officer who commanded there, had been reminded by Samuel of their having been school-fellows ; and the latter had given him his watch and money to keep for him : it is even stated that the officer slept in the same bed with him part of the previous night. Having proposed to Samuel that he should conform and turn to the Roman Catholic profession, he replied, " Where shall I turn, but where my God is ?" And, when he was urged to have his children sprinkled, he said, " My children are innocent, and I will leave them so."

When the two brothers, with Samuel's wife, were brought out to the lawn in front of the dwelling-house where they were imprisoned, to be put to death, some person said, " They were Quakers." It was replied, that " if they could make it appear they were Quakers, they should not be killed." As they were not in reality members of the Society, this was not attempted to be done. Those who had them in custody then took Samuel aside, and on certain conditions offered him his life ; but, whatever was the nature of these conditions, he firmly rejected them ; and when the *holy water*, as they termed it, was brought to them, he turned his back upon it.

The Insurgents then shot his elder brother, whom he very much encouraged, fearing his steadfastness might give way—for John had shown a disposition to turn Roman Catholic if it might be the means of saving Samuel's life ; but the latter encouraged his brother to faithfulness, expressing the words of our blessed Saviour, " They that deny me before men, them will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven ;" and he again revived the 39th verse of the same chapter in his remembrance. See Matthew, chap. x.

Samuel then desired his love to be given to different Friends, whom he named,—some of the Rebels, at the same time, with a view to depress his spirits, telling him, that these Friends had been made prisoners before he was, and shot at the camp at the Three Rocks. This communication had partially the effect they intended ; he meekly replied, " They died innocent." He then took an

affectionate farewell of his wife, who, with admirable fortitude, stood between the two brothers, holding a hand of each, when they were shot: and his last words were reported to be those expressions of our Lord and Saviour, which he repeated for the third time in the hearing of his murderers, "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." It was cause of mournful reflection to his friends that he was fired at three times before his death took place. He was an innocent young man, much beloved by his neighbours.

It seemed as if his wife would have shared the same fate, had not the officer who commanded interposed in her favour. She was permitted to convey their bodies to their former dwelling on a car; but not being able at that time to procure coffins for them, she buried them in the garden. On the death of their aged father, which took place in the following month, and was probably hastened by the untimely death of his two only sons, the bodies of the three were taken to the burying-ground of the Friends at Forrest, and there interred about seven weeks after.

When similar events occur under nearly similar circumstances, in different ages, and in different countries, we are in the habit of referring them, and mostly with good reason, to the influence and operation of some common principles. We judge that, whatever difference may exist between the customs and prejudices of one age and country and those of another, these customs and prejudices have not the power to counterbalance the practical weight and authority of the principles in question. But if we find that these principles influence the conduct of our fellow-creatures, even when they are living in a state of uncultivated nature, we must be persuaded, that whatever motives operate so powerfully, in rude and civilized society, must be built upon some enduring foundation, which times and seasons cannot alter. If, besides this, we discover that, in their direct effect, these principles lead to the welfare and happiness of man, the conclusion is irresistible, that they are not of mere temporary use, but of universal obligation; and that it is the duty of every individual, as well as of political bodies, to conform to them, and thus to make them the rule of public and private conduct. Now such, it may be safely alleged, are the blessed effects of the principles

of Peace, when, in a right spirit, they are acted upon and obeyed,—and such their influence upon mankind, without restriction to heathens or Christians, to individuals or nations. For whatever individual manifestly declares and proves himself a lover and maker of Peace, is enabled to live comparatively at peace, and is respected : and whatever nation holds up the same standard, and conforms to the same rule, taking no undue advantage, but acting in good faith towards others, will never fail to impress the world with esteem and admiration, and to hold mankind in awe by its very virtues. This is neither a new nor hypothetical ground of reasoning ; it is confirmed by what is called profane, as well as by sacred history.

The preceding reflections have arisen upon comparing the state of the Society of Friends, both at the time of the first settlement in Pennsylvania and afterwards, and the exceptions that occurred in the latter case, with the circumstances and the exception which are stated above to have taken place in Ireland.

It is well known that the peaceful founder of Pennsylvania established himself securely in that country, at a time when the name of a European was almost hateful to the Aborigines, on account of the perfidy and cruelty which the former had manifested. No other reason for the opposite treatment *he* received, could be assigned but this, that he adopted a different line of policy. By his peaceable attitude he disarmed their violence ; and by his sincerity he gained their esteem. His towns, without either garrison or fortress, were protected ; at least, were free from assault. And peace was maintained, not only with the Indian neighbours, but with the more dangerous Europeans, as long as the councils of Pennsylvania were directed by peaceable men. When at last this State assumed a war-like character, it was assailed like the rest, and experienced the calamities of war.

It appears also, that, during the conflict between the Anglo-Americans and the Indian natives, so long as the members of the Society remained unarmed, they escaped without injury ; but when they took up arms, or fled to garrison-towns for protection, and happened to fall in the way of the Indians, they lost their lives.

When arms were seen in the hands of those, who were looked upon as men of Peace, they excited the distrust of the warlike Indian. The weapon of *defence* (it might only be named) to him who bore it, was

an object of *offence* to him who saw it; because it conveyed the notion of hostility, and carried the idea of a spirit capable of revenge. When this appeared, the character of the peaceful Christian was lost, and with it one of the best defences with which a human being could be guarded.

A Friend, named Thomas Chalkley, who was travelling in New England in the year 1704, informs us, that "About this time the Indians were very barbarous in the destruction of the English inhabitants, scalping some, and knocking out the brains of others, men, women, and children, by which the country was greatly alarmed both by night and day; but the great Lord of all was pleased wonderfully to preserve our Friends, especially those who kept faithful to their peaceable principle, according to the doctrine of Christ in the Holy Scriptures, as recorded in his excellent sermon, which he preached on the mount."

Among the many hundreds that were slain, he heard but of three Friends being killed: and, according to the information he received, their destruction was very remarkable: the one was a woman, the other two were men.

"The men," he informs us, "used to go to labour without any weapons, and trusted to the Almighty, and depended on his providence to protect them (it being their principle not to use weapons of war to offend others, or defend themselves;) but a spirit of distrust taking place in their minds, they took weapons of war to defend themselves; and the Indians, who had seen them several times without them, and let them alone, saying, 'They were peaceable men, and hurt nobody, *therefore* they would not hurt them,'—now seeing them have guns, and supposing they designed to kill the Indians, they therefore shot the men dead.

"The woman had remained in her habitation, and could not be free to go to a fortified place for preservation—neither she, her son, nor daughter—nor to take thither the little ones; but the poor woman *after some time* began to let in a slavish fear, and did advise her children to go with her to a fort not far from their dwelling. Her daughter being one that trusted in the name of the Lord, the mighty tower to which the righteous flee and find safety, could not consent to go with her."

The daughter testifies concerning her mother, that the latter did

not feel herself easy at the garrison; but "often said to many, that she felt herself in a beclouded condition, and more shut from counsel than ever she had been since she knew the truth;"—"and being uneasy she went to move to a friend's house that lived in the neighbourhood; and as she was moving, the bloody cruel Indians lay by the way and killed her!"

As to the young woman herself, her husband at first treated her impression, that it was right to remain quietly in their habitation, as a mere conceit, the offspring of delusion, and he urged her strongly to go to the garrison, but she told him "he must never ask her to move again, for she durst not do it." It seems that she had already been prevailed upon to move to another house a little nearer the garrison; but had felt condemnation in her mind for that step. Her husband still urged that it was a *notion*, (meaning a delusive impression,) till a Friend came, "who satisfied him so well, that he never asked her more to go, but was very well contented to stay all the wars; and then," she adds, "things were made more easy, and we saw abundance of the wonderful works, and of the mighty power of the Lord, in keeping and preserving us, when the Indians were at our doors and windows, and at other times."

The Indians said, "They had no quarrel with the Quakers, for they were a quiet peaceable people, and hurt nobody, and that therefore none should hurt them."

And although about this time the Indians shot many people as they rode along the highway, and murdered many in their beds, Friends travelled the country without injury. "The people generally rode and went to their worship armed, but Friends went to their meetings without either sword or gun, having their trust and confidence in God." See Journal of Thomas Chalkley, chap. ii.

This is the testimony of an individual worthy of the fullest credit, as to matters of fact, which occurred more than a century ago.

Thomas Story informs us, that "a young man, a Friend, and a tanner by trade, going from the town to his work, *with a gun in his hand*, and another with him, *without any*, the Indians *shot him who had the gun, but hurt not the other*: and when they knew the young man they had killed was a Friend, they seemed to be sorry for it;

but blamed him for carrying a gun; for *they knew the Quakers would not fight, nor do them any harm*; and, therefore, *by carrying a gun, they took him for an enemy.*"*

If we go back to the early history of the Society of Friends in Ireland, we shall find that they were spread over the country in considerable numbers at the time of the Revolution in 1688. The difficulties and distresses, in which Friends were involved at that period, were much greater and more extensive, than in the last Rebellion. We possess, indeed, few documents from which we can draw a fair comparison. But, so far as authentic information reaches, it appears, that, by keeping true to their peaceable principles, the members of the Society, who lived in districts a prey to violence and depredation, were often made instrumental in saving the lives of their neighbours, having generally found favour with the Government, and conducting themselves without offence to the people.

Considering also their numbers, and the manner in which they were exposed, by attending duly their religious meetings, their lives were signally preserved.

William Edmunstone, a valuable Friend, residing in the Queen's County, who had been a soldier himself, and kept a Journal of some of the transactions of that period, has left the following important testimony:—

"The Earl of Tyrconnel, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, armed the Irish, and disarmed most of the English, so that great fear came upon the Protestants: most of the great leading men, and many others, left their places and substance, and went for England, others of them got into garrisons, and those that staid in their dwellings lay open to spoil. An open war soon broke out, and abundance of the Irish (who went in bands, but were not of the army) called Rap-parees (or Tories) plundered and spoiled many of the English Protestants; also many of the army, that were under command in troops and companies, were very abusive, being countenanced by their officers."— W. E. concluded that these abuses were "a contrivance to alarm and affright all the English, to make them run for England."

On several occasions he exerted himself with good effect, by applying personally to the Government for the relief of his friends and neighbours. "I was often," he says, "at Dublin, and used what interest I had gotten with the Government for the public good. And as the Irish army were marching to the North against the Protestants there in arms, I was much concerned with some friends in Dublin, to use all our interest with the chief officers, to spare and be kind to our Friends in the North, for they were not in arms; and many of them promised they would, and performed their promises."

"Now calamity increased; the Rapparees, on one hand, plundered and spoiled many of the English; and, on the other hand, the army marching and quartering, took what they pleased from us: our families were their servants, to make what we had ready for them; and it looked like sudden famine, there was such great destruction.

"In those times I was much in Dublin, applying to the Government in behalf of the country,—for the Lord had given Friends favour with the Government; and they would hear my complaint, and gave forth several orders to magistrates and officers of the army, to suppress Rapparees, and restrain their abuses; and they stood a little in awe of me, for they knew I had an interest with the Government."

"Now was wickedness let loose and got an head, so that, by violence and cruelty, most of our Protestant neighbours were forced from their dwellings, and several families came to my house, until every room was full; also most of their cattle, that were left, they brought to my land, thinking themselves and goods safer there than elsewhere. Now were we under great exercise and danger, not only of losing our goods, but our lives.

"At the Boyne fight, the Irish army being beaten, many of them fled our road, and plundered many in our parts; they plundered my house several times over The English army did not come near us for some time, and, to look outwardly, we were exposed to the wills of cruel blood-thirsty men.

"When the English and Scotch came into those parts, they plundered the Irish Frequently, when the English soldiers took away the Irish people's cattle, I persuaded them

to give some of them again, or bought them for a small matter with my own money, and gave them to the owners ; also let their horses graze on my land, to save them from the plunderers."

When the English army went into winter quarters, the Rapparees increased in number and violence ; and notwithstanding the services W. E. had often rendered them, one night they set fire to his house and took him and his two sons to murder them. But they were providentially preserved, though W. E. had to endure severe hardship and imprisonment afterwards, which nearly cost him his life.*

Many other Friends suffered the loss of their property, and their lives were also endangered : of whom further particulars may be seen in Ruttty's History of the Society in Ireland. The following cases may be interesting to the reader :

"At the town of Cavan (a place that lay open to both the armies and to the cruelty of the rabble), several Friends kept their places and dwellings, and held their usual meetings ; and though sometimes, in skirmishes between the two armies, many were slain, yet Friends' lives were wonderfully preserved, though in their outward substance they were spoiled and stripped, and at last commanded by the chief officer of the Irish army to depart, and their houses were burnt."

"Near Edenderry, (an open place much exposed to the Rapparees) Friends were greatly spoiled in their flocks and outward substance, but their lives were wonderfully preserved, though the bloody Rapparees broke in upon the town one night, and burnt part of it, and killed some of the inhabitants."

At Moate Granoge, six miles from Athlone, the latter of which was then a chief Irish garrison, and a noted place of refuge, to which the Rapparees, after scouring the country, carried their spoils, "John Clibborn kept his place long in much danger, as did most Friends of that meeting, which they still kept up with great difficulty. While J. C. could possibly keep his house, it was open to all, and a succour to many, both Friends and others ; and in times of great skirmishes and slaughter, he did not flee till at length most hardly used, plundered, and quite spoiled in his outward substance." He was threatened with death and his house was burnt.

* Sir Wm. Edmunstone's Journal, Sections xi. and xii.

"Mountmellick and Montrath, two country unwall'd towns, by reason of their bordering upon the bogs and mountains, often had great store of the ravenous Rapparees haunting them; and being places of little or no defence, Friends that dwelt in them sustained a large share of the many hardships of the calamitous times, and were greatly exercised under a concern both for their families and neighbours, still keeping up their meetings with an eye to the Lord, who did not leave nor forsake his people in their many trials, but wonderfully provided for them; so that it is to be admired how their little stock for their families held out, considering how their houses were filled with people; and many alarms came from the Irish, threatening to destroy those places, and kill all the English."

"Gershon Boat, dwelling at Borrisaleagh, remote from Friends, and ten miles from any meeting, in a place of some strength, suffered many hardships, and escaped many dangers, both at home and on the road going to meetings; his house being often set upon by the Irish, both of the army and Tories; but he was wonderfully delivered out of their hands; and many English families, both priests and others, were succoured there, and helped on their way, who had been much spoiled and stripped in the Irish quarters where they dwelt."

After enumerating these and other instances of the kind, the author of the History remarks,—"*These particulars may show the eminent providential hand of the Lord over Friends, and his care and kindness to preserve them in the midst of such great perils; and many more might be instanced: and though in those times many of the English neighbours fell by the hands of those bloody murderers, yet we know but of four that we could own to be of our Society in all the nation that fell by the hands of cruelty, and two of them too forwardly ventured their lives when they were lost.*"

"And it is remarkable that Friends' meetings were preserved peaceable, and that they kept their meetings according to the usual manner for the worship of God, as well as for church discipline, without much disturbance from either party; though many times Friends went to them in great perils by reason of the Rapparees, who in many places waylaid people to rob and murder them."

After these trials, which lasted nearly three years, were over, in

the year 1692, it was computed that the losses of Friends throughout the nation amounted in the whole to 100,000*l*. To many of the sufferers relief had been afforded by their sympathizing brethren in Ireland; and Friends in London signified their readiness to assist them. But it appears, that as at first the several provinces were able to help one another, the friendly offer was declined, with suitable acknowledgments: afterwards, however, they accepted of their distant friends' benevolence, to the amount of nearly 2000*l*.

Even from Friends in Barbadoes the sum of 100*l*. was sent for the relief of Friends in Ireland, on this occasion. Thus were the members of the Society, wherever scattered, nearly united in sympathy and affection.*

BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN.

The following anecdote is related by an eye witness, a lieutenant in the navy. There is reason to believe, that the person of whom it is related was not a *member* of the Society of Friends, though he might be of the same principle with them on the subject of war. This does not detract from, but gives additional force to the fact related of him.

"At the last siege of Copenhagen, being then a young midshipman on board his Majesty's ship *Valiant*, I was particularly impressed with an object that I saw three or four days after the terrific bombardment of that devoted place. For several nights previous to the surrender of Copenhagen, the darkness of the night was ushered in with a tremendous roar of guns and mortars, accompanied by the whizzing of those destructive and burning engines of warfare, Congreve's rockets. The dreadful effects of this destructive warfare were made visible by the brilliant lights in the city. Soon did the blazing houses, and the burning cottages of the labouring poor, illuminate the heavens. The wide-spreading flames,

* See History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers in Ireland, from the Year 1653 to 1750, by Thomas Wight and John Ratty, ch. ii.

reflected on the water, showed a forest of ships, all assembled round the city for its destruction. When the bombardment had commenced, and every woman and child fled from the destructive shell, shot, and rocket, and from the burning and falling houses, a little child was seen running across the street for shelter, it knew not where; when a rocket, flying through the street, killed in its way, the *poor innocent*. Oh, Britain, queen of nations! mother of such manly sons! are these thy works?—After several of these horrific nights, the Danes gave up their arsenal, and all it contained, to the English. Some days after, walking among the ruins, consisting of the cottages of the *poor*, houses of the rich, manufactories, lofty steeples, humble meeting-houses;—in the midst of this broad field of desolation stood one house—all around it was a burnt mass—this stood alone untouched by the fire—a monument of mercy, ‘Whose house is that?’ I asked. ‘That,’ said the interpreter, ‘belongs to, and is occupied by a member of the Society of Friends: he would not leave the house; but remained in prayer with his family during the bombardment.’ Surely, thought I, the ‘hairs of thy head were numbered.’ ‘He has been a shield to thee in battle;’ ‘a wall of fire round thee;’ a bright and shining witness of that care our Lord and Saviour has over those who follow peace. ‘Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.’ ‘Tis the example of the Prince of Peace; and all who follow him need not, and will not, fear the puny arm of man. It will be well with the righteous in those times.

“LIEUT. J. W. H. HANDLEY.”

The following extract from Raymond's Travels in the Pyrennees, contains some reflections that are worthy of being added to this chapter.

Speaking of the Spanish smugglers, he says, “These smugglers are as adroit as they are determined, are familiarized at all times with peril, and march in the very face of death; their first movement is a never-failing shot, and certainly would be a subject of dread to most travellers; for where are they to be dreaded more than in deserts, where crime has nothing to witness it, and the feeble

no assistance? As for myself, *alone and unarmed*, I have met them without anxiety, and have accompanied them without fear. We have little to apprehend from men whom we inspire with no distrust nor envy, and every thing to expect in those from whom we claim only what is due from man to man. The laws of nature still exist for those who have long shaken off the laws of civil government. At war with society, they are sometimes at peace with their fellows. The assassin has been my guide in the defiles of the boundaries of Italy; the smuggler of the Pyrennees has received me with a welcome in his secret paths.

"Armed, I should have been the enemy of both; unarmed they have alike respected me. In such expectation, I have long since laid aside all menacing apparatus whatever. Arms may, indeed, be employed against the wild beast, but no one should forget that they are no defence against the traitor; that they irritate the wicked, and intimidate the simple: lastly, that the man of peace, among mankind, has a much more sacred defence—his character."

When such feelings as these arise in the breast of a man, who, simply from outward observation, is led to view human nature as a compound of good and evil, that may be conciliated by kindness, and aggrieved by the contrary: how strong, in the eyes of the Christian, must be the sanction of principles derived from the spirit of his holy religion, whose direct object it is to cherish such benevolent dispositions, as would, if men would suffer themselves to be influenced by them, lead to universal peace and harmony in the world.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE BROTHERLY CARE OF THE SOCIETY TOWARDS ITS SUFFERING MEMBERS.

It has already been stated, that on the first appearance of the civil feuds which ushered in the rebellion of 1798, even so early as the year 1795, the Society of Friends exercised a consistent care in advising its members to destroy their arms, that they might on all hands keep themselves free from the stain of blood. We have now

to record the fact of their brotherly sympathy being extended in deeds of active benevolence towards those families and individuals, who, by reason of their severe losses, were so reduced as to stand in need of their friends' assistance. The proofs of a wise Christian economy are no less manifest in the latter case than in the former.

A committee of the Yearly Meeting, held in Dublin, was very early appointed to take the circumstances of their suffering brethren into consideration; for many, who had been blessed with comfortable homes and means of supporting their families, were left almost destitute; and this committee recommended a voluntary subscription to be raised by the different monthly meetings for their relief.

The following is an extract from the Report of this committee presented to the Yearly Meeting in 1799. It will be seen that they scrupled conscientiously to seek redress for their losses by the usual legal means :

" We apprehend it proper to inform the Yearly Meeting, that shortly after our appointment, divers members of our Religious Society having suffered loss and damage in their substance, in various ways, by the commotions which were in this nation, we came to the judgment, that it would be inconsistent for any of our members in most, if not in all, cases, to seek for, or to receive compensation from government, or other legal redress by presentment : and we having received account, that in different parts divers Friends had suffered so materially as to stand in need of assistance, recommended to the different monthly meetings to set forward a liberal subscription to afford some relief to those Friends. In consequence whereof the sum of 3847*l.* 11*s.* 9½*d.* has been subscribed and received ; and a number of suffering cases having been laid before us, we have adjudged the sum of 2217*l.* 7*s.* 2½*d.* for their relief ; their losses appearing to amount to upwards of 7500*l.* exclusive of many cases not yet disposed of, or returned ; and there remains a fund of 1630*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* still to be applied for this purpose. We have also received account of the losses of sundry Friends to a considerable amount, whose circumstances did not make it necessary for them to need any relief at present."

The memorial issued by the said Yearly Meeting in 1810, relative to this event, proceeds to state :—

" The said committee further reported to the Yearly Meeting in

1800, viz. ‘ We have attended to the cases of those Friends who have suffered in the late commotions, and believe suitable assistance has been afforded to such ; and that there are not now likely to be any further cases transmitted to the committee. The amount distributed to those who appeared to stand in need thereof is 2852*l.* 15*s.* 10½*d.* and the balance remaining in the treasurer’s hands being 994*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.* we have come to the judgment that it be returned to the different monthly meetings, in proportion to the sums sent up by them ; and that it ought to be returned, in like proportion, to the Friends subscribing the same.’ ”

The document of 1810 further states, that “ The Yearly Meeting in London in 1799, being dipped into sympathy with Friends in Ireland, cordially offered their assistance, if further exigencies should require.

“ Neither did distance of place prevent our brethren in a distant land from desiring to contribute to the necessities of their Friends in distress : for, by the following extract from the Epistle from the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia in the 4th month, 1799, it appears that the same spirit of brotherly affection and sympathy prevailed in the hearts of Friends there.

“ ‘ We retain in affectionate remembrance the sympathy of Friends in your nation, and the generous relief you afforded to our brethren who were much stripped of their property by the war in this country some years since : and we are thankful in feeling a degree of the same brotherly love, by which we are made one in the Lord, wherever dispersed, or situated : desiring if, at this time, or in consequence of future trials, brethren among you should be reduced to similar circumstances, we may receive information and be permitted to follow your benevolent example.’ ”

This affectionate proposal was gratefully acknowledged by the Yearly Meeting in Dublin in 1801, in its Epistle to the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, in these terms : “ Your Epistle given forth in 1799, addressed to Friends in Ireland we received ; which feelingly carried with it genuine marks of strong affection, and near sympathy with us, under the trials, which Friends in this land, previous thereto, and about that time, laboured under.

“ It is cause of humble thankfulness that the dispensation was not of a very long continuance, though many Friends suffered

deeply in their property while the conflict continued: and it was much more severe in some parts of the nation than others.

“ A considerable sum was raised, which, under the direction and management of a National Committee, was administered to the relief of the sufferers in such proportion, as, from the accounts transmitted of their loss and circumstances, they appeared to require. When these wants were supplied, there was a redundancy, which was directed to be returned to the subscribers; so that we do not at present stand in need of making any further use of your brotherly intimation of affording assistance, than that of expressing a grateful sense thereof.”

Without question, it must afford a pleasing reflection to every humane mind, that a Religious Society, conformably to the analogy of the outward body, should, in this way, suffer and sympathize in the sufferings of all its members; and, though dispersed over a nation, should constitute, as it were, but a single family, bound together by common interests.

Viewed abstractedly as the effect of a benevolent Christian economy, practised in a particular Society, the fact must also be a source of gratification, that strangers, even in distant countries, should offer their kind assistance to those in need. For, we are told that the Friends in England, and even in America, requested permission to send their contributions, should they be required.

But, contemplating the fact, as if the same principles of conduct might be made applicable to the whole Christian community, how consoling and animating would be the prospect of all the members of the Christian Church, however scattered, and however divided, by minute shades of opinion, being brought to unite in the bond of Peace, in a common desire to do each other good, to obey the same rule, and to adopt in their practice the same principles!

It would require no great stretch of faith to believe, that conduct like this would lead them to a union which no earthly power could shake, and that Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans, would bow down with reverence to the spirit of Christianity, and surrender their might before the excellency of such a peaceful dominion. Because, these, constituting part of the human family, and therefore objects of this Catholic benevolence, would receive from their Christian neighbours such lessons of peace and good-will, as would imbue

them with kind dispositions, and take away all evil intentions from their minds.

It could not injure any, whatever might be their opinions with regard to the necessity of War, to study with deep attention the moral effect of this Christian spirit of universal charity ; which has thus a tendency to unite together nations, kindreds, and people, as children of one parent, and servants of one Lord,—“ thinking no evil,” “ forbearing one another,” “ loving one another,” “ preferring one another,” “ seeking the good of all ;”—and to compare it with the opposite spirit, which is ever busy in discovering faults, in awakening evil surmisings, in sowing the seeds of contention, and setting man at variance with man, in kindling the flame of War, and promoting the misery, demoralization, and destruction of the human race. How can we conceive it possible that these opposite dispositions should ever be brought to coincide in the *perfect* character—the true disciple of Jesus Christ ?

Is it possible that the same individual can be actuated at the same time by the maxims and principles of Peace, and the maxims and principles of War ? But if these are incompatible, and War could be tolerated under the Christian code ; then the maxims and principles of Peace might be dispensed with under the same code. Where shall we find the authority for thus stripping off the distinguishing badge of the Christian, that he may be fitted for the field of battle ? There is no such authority : it is opposed by every rule and maxim : by every law and principle, in the New Testament. Consequently, the maxims and principles of Peace cannot, under any circumstances, be dispensed with ; and warlike habits and dispositions are entirely incompatible with the meek and forgiving spirit of Christianity. The rule of expediency, as it is called, may promise much : and men may employ their sophistry in attempting to reconcile the two characters. But calculations of present advantage, can never be admitted to form a part of the motives by which a Christian should be governed ; nor will he, who, in simplicity of heart, wishes to follow the example of a meek and forgiving Saviour, with faithful obedience to his laws, and humble confidence in his divine protection, ever be justified in forsaking the direct and straight-forward course of integrity, to preserve life or property, for the serpentine mazes of a

wily policy, by which he might bring himself to think that he could secure these transitory blessings.

CHAP. VIII.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

SOME observations naturally present themselves to the mind on reading the foregoing narrative.

We have seen that in a time of civil commotion, in which it would be difficult to conceive a state of things attended in some places with more aggravated circumstances, a number of individuals, following the benevolent precepts of the Gospel, were enabled to keep themselves free from party-feelings, to open their houses and to lend their assistance to the distressed, whatever their denomination; and that, finally, they were permitted to experience preservation in the midst of a most barbarous and destructive warfare. This exemplary humanity, and this remarkable preservation, were not confined to one or a few individuals in a particular spot; but were common to a considerable number of persons, in different parts of an extensive country, professing and following the same principles. And when they were threatened with the burning of their habitations, the destruction of their families, and the loss of their own lives, if they persisted in acts denounced by their enemies; they were favoured with fortitude, notwithstanding, to pursue that line of conduct, which they believed to be consistent with their duty, fearlessly and faithfully, in the presence of armed multitudes, who seemed even to be kept in awe by their Christian magnanimity.

We have seen that the signal preservation which the members of the Society were favoured to experience, was marked by one exception, in the case of a young man who fell a victim to his own temerity; and that the peculiar circumstances, under which this apparent exception took place, serve rather to illustrate and establish, than to invalidate, the principles by which the Society was governed.

In addition to these things, we have to notice, in the economy of the Society itself, the sympathy and brotherly kindness manifested not only by their countrymen, but by Friends at a distance; by the first, in coming forward to relieve their suffering brethren, and by the last, in offers of assistance, should it be required.

Upon a consideration of all these things, a number of reflections offer themselves to our notice.

In the first place, we naturally feel a desire that principles, like those, by which this body of Christians were actuated, should prevail more generally in the world ; and we are led to inquire, if it be not possible, that moral effects which took place on a small scale, should take place also on a larger ; that a beginning might thus be made for that glorious consummation, when *men shall learn war no more*.

We must be satisfied that what is wanting, in the first instance, is courage to maintain the self-denying and peaceable principles of the Gospel ; and if examples be required, then, by the facts recorded, we give the advocates of war decisive proofs that these principles are not visionary and inapplicable to the state of civil society ; but that they are substantial and efficient when brought into operation, contributing to the preservation of individuals, and to the general good of the human family.

Can we reasonably doubt, if the numbers of those, who, amidst the horrors of this rebellion, acted upon these principles, and endeavoured thus to fulfil their duties to their fellow-creatures, had been still greater, that the triumph of humanity, or of peaceable practices over warlike, would also have been greater, and that many, who fell victims, would have been spared ?

In proportion as the elements of Peace encroach upon and displace the elements of War, the force of the latter must become weaker : in other words, in proportion to the numbers of those, who lift up the standard of Peace in any country, Peace is diligently pursued, and religiously preserved ; and the sparks of contention, whenever they appear, are, as when water is cast upon fire, stifled and extinguished.

For, as this devouring element only spreads among *combustible* materials, when these are wanting, it must cease ; so the passions of revenge and cruelty, when they are opposed by meekness and benevolence, having no food for the flame, must of necessity be calmed and appeased.

Were a whole nation to act upon these principles, what an example it would be to the world ! and is there any wrath or violence of man it could have cause to fear ?

If the life of *one man* is preserved, who, in time of imminent peril, conscientiously displays the mark of true discipleship, in love to his enemy as well as to his brother, we rejoice at the event, though, as an isolated example, we might not perhaps be induced to build upon it in our future conduct. But if *a number*, acting upon the same principles, under very various circumstances, are found to experience preservation, we have then something like the proofs afforded by matter of fact, to lead us to entertain a question upon the possibility of the same effects resulting from the same causes, on a still larger scale, if men would only have courage to make the experiment.

If, in addition to the evidence, derived from experience, of the efficacy of peaceable conduct, we have the precept and example of Him who pronounced his blessing upon the peace-maker, what stronger sanction can a sincere Christian look for, to determine him to renounce the the spirit and the trade of war, and to enlist himself under the banner of the Prince of Peace ?

And as we could not rationally, and certainly not as Christians, contend that a lengthened existence was a proof of peculiar favour in a pilgrimage like that of the present life, in which some of the best of men have been permitted to run but a short career, before they were summoned to their reward; we are called upon religiously to adhere to our principles in times of outward extremity, without any prospective view to a limited or a protracted duration. The Supreme Being is surely not less merciful to his creatures, because he permits some of them to fall a sacrifice to the sword of the cruel, in order that they may be translated a little sooner, than would otherwise be their lot, to the regions of bliss and immortality.

The sword of the cruel, we cannot for a moment doubt, has never been permitted to cut off the innocent, without a merciful design to the sufferer, and a gracious purpose of watering and multiplying the seed of the true church with the martyrs' blood. For, whosoever has died in the faithful support of his Christian testimonies, has, in all ages, been a martyr; and we may confidently say, that his blood has not been shed upon the earth in vain.

Whenever violence, therefore, has been permitted to gain, as it were, a temporary advantage over the meek and unresisting spirit of Christianity — which is the spirit of Peace — we are warranted in

concluding that it has been for some special end. And what are we to consider that end but the ultimate triumph of good over evil, and, consequently the enlargement of the Messiah's kingdom? In all ages, when devoted and faithful martyrs have sealed their testimony with their blood, it has proved a seed more or less fruitful, according to a variety of concomitant circumstances. In various periods of the church, its living members have had to pass through different dispensations, adapted to the exigencies of the times; in some, more humiliating, in others, more triumphant—in all, deeply baptizing to themselves. But the self-denying spirit of Christianity requires, that, in all cases, the possessions and honours of this world, and even life itself, should be held in light estimation, compared with the joys, and rewards, and glories of immortality. When violence, therefore, in a dark and degenerate age, is allowed to prevail over Christian meekness, as if there were no providence to protect the good, it cannot be consistently supposed, that these are actually forsaken; and that the possession of property and of life, secured by means of active resistance, is to be accounted a sign of divine favour, justifying the use of arms.

In such an age, for inscrutable purposes, examples are perhaps more necessary to be made to the world, of the sufferings than of the triumphs of Christianity.

But if, in former times, Christians were called upon to seal their testimony with their blood, can they now refuse to do the same, when present advantage may come in competition with the duties of love and forbearance?

If men are determined in their minds to live at ease, at all hazards, and conceive that Christianity does not *now* require of them the sacrifices which it did in the first ages of the church, they will, unquestionably, suffer the standard of the Cross to fall from their hands, rather than expose themselves to suffering, and perhaps to contempt, in the support of it.

While, on the one hand, therefore, it is certain, that no degree of bitterness and persecution can extinguish the light of the true Church; on the other, all those who endeavour to hold up this light in its purity to the world—whether it be to an age, sunk in ignorance, or carelessly reposing in the false light of an erroneous philosophy—are as stars in the firmament, and as witnesses of

imperishable renown who have borne a noble testimony for the truth, and will be accessory, in their measure, to its ultimate triumph over darkness and delusion. Hence, as a faithful and conscientious support of any Christian testimony, even if the sacrifice should proceed as far as the stake or the cross, will infallibly strengthen the bonds and attachments to the Christian Church, and help to keep its holy flame alive in the earth: so every Christian who, in a meek and peaceable spirit, suffers wrong, either in person or property, from violent men, exalts the character of his religion in the eyes of the world; and after the glorious example of his divine Master, *in his measure*, holds up, for imitation, the same spirit of meekness, forbearance, and universal benevolence, that was in Christ.

This, therefore, is the peculiar feature of the Gospel, which is calculated, more than any other, to excite the love and admiration of the world. For it is almost impossible that rational beings should contemplate a religion, which looks upon all men with peace and good-will, and enables its followers, *to forgive them that offend, to love their enemies, to do good even to them that hate, and to bless them that persecute*, without feelings of admiration, and of reverence for its divine precepts.

It is indeed to be acknowledged that events, like some of those we have been relating, have a tendency to rouse our honest indignation against cruelty, perpetrated or designed: so that, in the natural heat of the mind, we are almost tempted, like some formerly, to pray that we might be armed with power to execute summary vengeance upon the authors and projectors of such atrocities: these are natural feelings, but they are not Christian. And while it is the duty of an honest historian, with just abhorrence of crime, to detail facts as they occurred, it is also the duty of a fellow-mortal to temper this indignation with feelings of Christian compassion. While we lament the vices of others, let us not forget our own infirmities, and our own duties. If these are not Christian duties, what are they to be denominated? Are we at liberty to take the natural impulses which are common to us with the brutes, and which flourish most in the most barbarous state of human society, for rules of conduct, and motives of action, more obligatory than the moderating, humanizing, and restraining precepts of the Gospel?

It is not presumed that the conquest over our own passions and

resentments is easily acquired. Like other Christian duties, the subjection of our natural impulses is a work of time, and discipline, and labour. No man can, *at once*, be brought to see that it would be wrong to take the life of a remorseless assassin, who is dealing destruction around him, as with an insatiable thirst for human blood; yet no man who professes Christian principles, can doubt that there is a power able to control his fury, if it were consistent with divine mercy that it should be controlled. And, surely, various effectual means are in the power, and at the disposal of the wise and good, both to restrain and to punish the murderer, without either taking away *his* life, or violating *their own* Christian principles.

On a solemn review, therefore, of the two states—that of the ferocious murderer, cut off in the midst of his crimes, or that of an innocent victim prepared for a better life; which is most entitled to our serious commiseration?—He, who yields up his life, with a meek and forgiving disposition, in obedience to the law, and after the example of Christ; or, he who is cut down in his enormities, and sent unprepared to the bar of the Righteous Avenger?—Surely, the latter.

But, it may be said, that this reasoning does not so much apply to the conflict of the innocent and cruel, as to that between one of the latter and a human being not yet in a situation fitting him to appear before his Maker; and hence, that such a one ought to guard his existence by every means in his power, in order that he may be better prepared. To this objection a very brief reply may be made, that the perfect rules of Christian excellence cannot be modified or lowered, at the will of man; so as to acquit any who may content themselves with the adoption of measures, which, so far from being *allowed*, are strictly *forbidden*, even to the *most upright* pillars of the Christian Faith.

When we can find in the New Testament *two* paths for Christian travellers;—one for the more advanced, and another laid down for him who is not disposed to walk in such a strait and narrow way; then, indeed, some relaxation of Christian precepts may be allowed: but, if it be granted to one, it must be so to all. And, as there is plainly but one code, admitting of neither exceptions nor reservations, no man can expect to justify himself in any act that does not come

up to the *full* measure of the excellence, and unsophisticated construction, of the sacred rule.

Is a Christian, then, to take the law of violence in his own hands, to avenge himself by the strength of his own arm, for wrongs he may either fear or suffer? Or is he, in humble reliance upon Providence, to oppose his integrity, and his innocence, and the weight of his Christian testimonies, to the arms and outrage of the violent?

If we reason with those who answer the first question in the affirmative, we find, that they readily admit that it is a praiseworthy self-devotion to lay down our lives for our country, or in defence of our civil liberties, or of our kindred; but, at the same time, insinuate that it is mean and ignoble to die for our religion, in the peaceable support and vindication of any of our testimonies. That is to say, according to their views,—It is more the duty of a Christian to sacrifice his life in the defence of earthly comforts and attractions, than to lay it down, if he should fall into the hands of the cruel who will not respect his testimonies, in that meek and forgiving spirit, which his religion enjoins, with the prospect of eternal happiness as the reward of his obedience :—To secure the fame of a patriot, or for some other sublunary object, he may lose his life with *honour*; but to secure an object that is eternal, the sacrifice is accounted ignominious!—In the short and weary pilgrimage of this life, which has, in reality, few objects deserving the exclusive notice of the true Christian, he may die nobly for some stake of little value, the importance of which is magnified by its nearness; but if he lay down his life for a crown of immortality, he is to be considered a zealot or enthusiast, because the object, though of transcendent moment, *is a little more distant!*—a mode of calculation directly opposed to that of Christ, “What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?”

Patriotism is, undoubtedly, commendable; and they, who have died in the cause of civil liberty, deserve their due meed of honour. But patriotism, without Christianity, can only erect a baseless fabric that must crumble into ruins. The only enduring support of civil liberty is the Gospel, with its humanizing, emancipating, soul-expanding institutions. When patriotism is made to supersede this vital spring of all virtue, then the glory of this world is made to

eclipse the brighter glory of that which is to come. "*If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.*" The most valuable legacy, which a man can leave his country, is a life devoted to the practical illustration of one or more of his Christian testimonies, maintained in their original purity. The mind of man, however enlightened, can excogitate nothing more excellent, nothing more conducive to the well-being of society, nothing more useful to the whole race, than the precepts of the Gospel. For what do they comprehend, but the very spirit of universal charity? **PEACE ON EARTH AND GOOD-WILL TO MEN**, are the objects aimed at by the promulgation of this blessing—the foundation on which it rests, and the source from which all its institutions are derived. Hence, true patriotism may display itself efficiently and usefully without taking up arms, either to defend rights or to secure privileges; for the patriotism of a Christian is continually aiming at the highest interests of man; and as the propagation of the Gospel needs not the aid of the sword, neither can patriotism, viewed in this light, need it.

We take it for granted that it is upon the broad basis of Christian principles *alone*, that reasonings against the use of arms ought to be founded: inasmuch as the Church of Christ has never required the aid of the sword for its propagation—nay, has been signally retarded in its course, whenever this false friend has come forward to its assistance.

Now, as we read in history, that there have been periods of depression in the Church, so we are to consider that there may be such again, in which Christians may be called upon to lay down their lives in obedience to their testimonies; consequently, that violence may be permitted again, as in former ages, to shed the blood of faithful witnesses, as in the streets. Upon these principles we could not expect that, at all times and under all circumstances, the lives of peaceful Christians should be spared.

The Gospel, in its purity, has many valuable testimonies, besides that, in favour of peace and harmony amongst men: some persons, we know, have yielded up their lives on mere points of faith, which their adversaries were not in a state of mind to comprehend: but there is no human being who can shut his heart or his understanding against the influence of peaceable, unoffending conduct.

It would therefore appear, that, whenever a stand has been conscientiously made on the one single testimony against War, either by many or by few, preservation of life has, in a remarkable manner, been experienced. And it may be for this reason, that there is no other Christian testimony, in the support of which the meek and humble disciple is led to evince, more conspicuously, his allegiance, and child-like dependence upon the immediate protection of an Almighty Parent; no other testimony which is more calculated to win the disaffected, to tame the cruel, and to soften the violent.

And, on this ground, which seems to have more reference to the natural effects of peaceable conduct, than to the principle as a Christian tenet, an objection may be noticed, which is sometimes put forward, in the shape of a conclusive argument, against the disciple of Peace, by his opponents.

They suppose a man, who may suddenly profess to act according to peaceable principles, to be *all at once* involved in some serious crisis of difficulty and danger; and, under these circumstances, if he cannot escape from the difficulty, by a strict adherence to his Christian principles, they are ready, forthwith, to question the doctrine and its practical application. For, they hastily conclude, that his principles, being, as they suppose, too refined for use, cannot be maintained in practice; without considering that he might have been instrumental in bringing upon himself the dangers in which he is involved, by giving way to principles of an opposite tendency in his previous conduct.

Now, this is not a fair supposition, nor is it a fair predicament in which to place him.

We have before said, that a man cannot *at once* be brought to see that it is wrong to take away the life of a remorseless assassin. We now say, on the other hand, that when a man has been for a long time sowing the seeds of contention, and has in this way made himself liable to the consequences; and then, impelled by fear or by a better motive, *suddenly* repents of his antichristian conduct, and takes up a resolution to change it; he ought not to expect that he should *instantly* reap the fruits of Peace, nor ought he (if, indeed, ever) to presume upon Divine protection, in such circumstances.

For, in so far as the systematic lover of Peace may be concerned

in the affairs of life, and be allowed to throw the weight of his influence into the scale of events, whether civil or political, it is obvious, that if the principles of peace and good-will should be acted upon in good faith, between those who might be otherwise disposed to contend, the danger and the extremity, and the predicament in question, through the medium of his influence, would not occur.

It is not fair, therefore, to place the follower of Peace in a difficulty, into which his own principles would never lead him; and then, as if the validity of his principles were to be staked upon the event, to challenge him to extricate himself from the outward perplexity, by any other means than what his opponents denominate the lawful struggle of violence for the maintenance of civil order, against those who would break down its barriers and overturn the most sacred institutions of human society. For it cannot, in reason, be expected, that a sudden adoption of pacific sentiments, accompanied by a momentary fervour of piety, and impassioned invocation of the Great Name, should be availing towards the preservation of any, who are in the extremity of danger from barbarian cruelty, when they may have been living for a long time in systematic opposition to the very principles, and in direct violation of the laws, which they are thus hastily acknowledging. Humble reliance upon Providence, is not a duty to be observed *only* in the hour of danger; it is as necessary to the right-minded in the season of outward Peace, as in that of War. It is not while the storm is raging, that prayer is likely to be effectual, when it is offered by those, who, in the time of prosperity, never approach the throne of mercy to acknowledge the blessings showered upon them by Divine favour. Neither is it in the hour of imminent danger that we can expect a passive submission will be availing to disarm and conciliate the ferocious; unless the mind is at the same time deeply imbued with Christian meekness, and resignation, and humble reliance upon Providence.

Now, we are not disposed to argue upon this point with those, who cannot conceive this latter state, and who only reason as if the impulse of mere human indignation against wrong, afforded sufficient grounds to justify retaliation. We cannot expect to convince men against the force of the whole practical

principles of their lives. If they have been *outward* in their views of the protection of either property or life,—*outward* in all their calculations of expediency,—*outward* in every plan of earthly aggrandizement—so that they are almost ready triumphantly to boast themselves *independent* of the care and notice of their Heavenly Father;—we no more suppose that they will become suddenly the reverse, and capable of seeing the exact relation between a disciple of the Prince of Peace, and a misguided fellow-creature, than that an eye, long used to darkness, should at once be able to endure the light, or an untutored Indian to comprehend the profoundest principles of philosophy.

We do, however, expect that those, who have examined the genuine principles of the Gospel, and have seen that they are all of a self-denying tendency, should pause a moment, before they sanction the doctrine, that a meek and consistent follower of Jesus Christ, is at all to be justified in avenging either himself, or his brother, or his country, with the sword,—in other words, is at liberty to oppose violence to violence, cruelty to cruelty, and murder to murder.

For, as a kingdom of Peace is most assuredly to be established, and must be established, by *pure means*, upon the earth; the followers of this peaceable kingdom are not to lower the standard held out to them to bear, by resorting to the *self-same means* which are employed by others, not only to secure their secular interests, but to promote disunion and moral evil, — *the means* of violence and bloodshed.

The ground-work of Peace was laid in the institutions of the Prince of Peace himself. The spirit and the love of Peace are inculcated upon all his followers. The least envying, or jealousy, or disposition to retaliation, is therefore a signal of revolt—a defection from his pure standard—the beginning of a desertion to that side, which is wholly engrossed with the world and its maxims, its pursuits,—its possessions,—its enjoyments, and its turbulent principles of action. Can any reasonable man conceive that the pure principles of Christianity can admit of any compromise,—any safe coalition with practices, which, in whatever way they begin, and however innocent their cause, have a tendency to rouse the worst passions of the mind, and to produce the greatest amount of moral evil?

Men must be one thing or the other : they cannot be faithful to two masters : they cannot serve God and Mammon. It is better perhaps to be Pagan in profession, if Christian in practice ; than Christian in profession, if only Pagan in life and conduct.

In conclusion, let us ask any man, after he may have been perusing the instances recorded, however hackneyed in the modes of thinking common to the world, and however ill-disposed to risk his life on such terms ; yet, when coolly reflecting on the circumstances, and ready to appear before the Supreme Judge of the earth, whether he would not infinitely prefer, to have been a peaceful actor in such a strife, and to merit the praise and the glorious reward of such a character, than to have been the greatest military hero that ever triumphed in a field of battle.

It cannot be said that these individuals were pusillanimous, and wanted personal courage. Some of them, it is clear, displayed exemplary fortitude : for, unarmed, they presented their bodies fearlessly and nobly, before the pike and the gun. And what gave them this fortitude, but the sustaining conviction, that their hearts were upright, however simple their intentions, before the Lord ; and that his omnipotent arm was their shield, and able to defend them in the very darkest extremity ?

I shall conclude with a few extracts from the " Primitive Christianity" of an eminent writer in the English Church, William Cave, D.D. on the practice of the early Christians.

He gives this testimony concerning them : " No sooner did the Gospel fly abroad into the world, but the love and charity of Christians became notorious even to a *proverb*, the heathens taking notice of the Christians of those times with this particular remark, '*See how these Christians love one another.*'"—" There's one circumstance yet behind, concerning the love and charity of those times, very worthy to be taken notice of, and that is, the universal extent of it ; *they did good to all, though more especially to them of the household of faith*, i. e. to Christians ; they did not confine their bounty within the narrow limits of a *party*, this or that sect of men, but embraced an object of pity and love wherever they met it : *they were kind to all men*, yea, to their bitterest enemies, and that with a

charity as large as the circles of the sun that visits all parts of the world :—this, indeed, is the proper goodness and excellency of Christianity, as Tertullian observes, it being common to all men to love their friends, *but peculiar only to Christians to love their enemies.*

“ And Athenagoras principally makes use of this argument to prove the divinity of the Christian religion, and challenges all the great masters of reason and learning amongst the heathens to produce any, either of themselves or their disciples, of so pure and refined a temper, as could, instead of hating, love their enemies, bear curses and revilings with an undisturbed mind, and, instead of reviling again, to bless and speak well of them, and to pray for them who lay in wait to take away their lives. And yet this did Christians ; they embraced their enemies, and pardoned and prayed for them. Nay, they did not think it enough *not to return evil for evil*, or barely to forgive their enemies, unless they did them all the *kindness* that lay in their power.—We read of one Pachomius, an heathen soldier, in the first times of Constantine, that the army being nearly starved for want of necessary provisions, and coming to a city that was mostly inhabited by Christians, they freely and speedily gave them whatever they wanted for the accommodation of the army. Amazed with this strange and unwonted charity, and being told that the people that had done it were Christians, *whom they generally preyed upon*, and whose profession it was to hurt no man, and to do good to every man, he threw away his arms, became an anchorite, and gave up himself to the strictest severities of religion. This also Julian the emperor plainly confesses ; for, urging Arsaicus, the Chief Priest of Galatia, to take care of the poor, and to build hospitals in every city, for the entertaining of poor strangers and travellers, both of their own and other religions ; he adds, ‘ for it is a shame, that when the Jews suffer none of theirs to beg, and the wicked Galatians (Christians) relieve not only their own, *but also those of our party*, that we only should be wanting in so necessary a duty.’ So prevalent is truth, as to extort a confession from its most bitter and virulent opposers. Of this I shall only add one instance or two more, proper enough to be inserted here.

“ Eusebius, speaking of that dreadful plague and famine that happened in the east under the Emperor Maximinus, wherein so many whole families miserably perished and were swept away at once ; he

adds, that, at this time, the care and piety of the Christians towards all, evidently approved itself to all the Gentiles that were about them; *they being the only persons that, during this sad and calamitous state of things, performed the real offices of mercy and humanity*: the fame whereof filled the ears and mouths of all men, who extolled the God of the Christians, and confessed that they had shewed themselves to be the only truly pious and religious persons. And, indeed, the charity was the more remarkable, in that the Christians, at the very time, were under a most heavy persecution.

“Thus in the terrible plague that, in the time of Gallus and Volusius, raged so much through the whole world, especially at Carthage, when innumerable multitudes were swept away every day, and the streets filled with the carcasses of the dead; every one trembling, flying, and shifting for themselves, deserting their nearest friends and kindred, none staying, unless it was to make a prey:—In this sad and miserable case, Cyprian, then bishop of the place, calls the Christians together, and instructs them in the duties of mercy and charity Immediately upon this, they unanimously agreed to assist *their common enemies*, every one lending help, according to his rank and quality.

“Such was the temper, such the carriage of Christians towards them that were without; within themselves they maintained the most admirable peace and harmony, and were, in a manner, of one heart and soul.”—See *Primitive Christianity*; or, the Religion of the Ancient Christians in the first Ages of the Gospel, by William Cave, D.D.

FINIS.

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THE Author of the following Treatise is already known to our readers, by a Work entitled "An Examination of the Principles which are considered to support the practice of War," and which is the Eighth of the Series of Tracts published by the Peace Society. The happy combination of literary talent and of correct moral principles displayed in that Tract has rarely been excelled; and the promise it gave of excellency in the future productions of the Author is amply realized in the following admirable review of the belligerent history of mankind. And the Committee of the Peace Society feel that it is due to the amiable Author to acknowledge their obligations to her, for having devoted her time and talents to the Christian cause in which they are engaged, and for her kind permission to adopt the following excellent Treatise as one of the standard Tracts of the Peace Society.

Possessed of pre-eminent talents which could not fail of commanding notice and distinction in the popular walks of Literature, the moral merit of the Author is enhanced by her having consecrated them to the less popular, but more hallowed purpose of stripping of its false halo of glory, and exposing in its true light, the destructive career of the warrior. If by thus consecrating her intellectual endowments to the establishment of correct moral principles, she may not attain to that ephemeral popularity so much in request by her contemporaries, this loss will be more than compensated by the approbation of the wise and good, and, above all, of that almighty and beneficent Being with whom even a cup of water administered in his name will not lose its reward.

April, 1831.

HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS,

&c. &c.

"The fact seems to be, that wars, in such cases, have originated from a total want of public opinion, from the ignorance of the people who allowed ambitious or unprincipled rulers successfully to employ every engine to influence their passions, and to excite the multitude to acts of destruction towards those of another country for no possible advantage. In future ages it will, perhaps, scarcely be believed, that rulers could have been so flagitious, or nations so brutalized, as to act in this manner."—*Essay on the Rise, Progress, and Present State of Public Opinion.* By W. A. MACKINNON. P. 244. Note.

WHERE a certain mode of thinking and acting has been long interwoven with the habits of mankind, there are commonly arrayed about it such a host of feelings, prejudices, and arguments, founded on prescriptive authority, that to call in question the propriety of its continuance, appears somewhat like attempting to throw a doubt on one of the fundamental laws of our existence. Should the reflecting philanthropist, therefore, in the course of his silent observations on the character and tendency of human actions, discover grounds for believing that a practice, upheld by the usage of past ages, and fostered by its accordance with selfish inclination, is yet equally at variance with the dictates of religion and sound policy, he will not indulge in any romantic expectations of suddenly overthrowing, by the unaided force of truth, the long-established customs of nations. But neither will he despair of the eventual improvement of his species. The experience of former times has taught him that the conclusions of the enlightened few, although slowly adopted, and strenuously contested by their contemporaries, are commonly but the forerunners of public opinion. The experience of his own day convinces him that by public opinion, which is ever progressive in power as it acquires continually fresh accessions of intelligence, the councils of nations, and the proceedings of mankind at large, will ultimately be directed. He has watched the effects of the gradual infusion of new ideas into the general mass; and he observes that these effects are

daily increasing in magnitude and importance. The system of social order is developing hourly new relations ; and sentiments, moral and political, which, on their first introduction, were branded with the stigma of enthusiasm, have subsequently become the acknowledged standard of practical truth.

It is without any vain anticipation of effecting a sudden and miraculous change in the dispositions or practices of men, that the advocates of universal peace persist in appealing to public attention on behalf of the principles they maintain. Convinced that the system of war is no less inimical to the real interest of nations than it is opposed to the precepts of religion and humanity, they feel themselves bound to persevere in endeavouring to direct the minds of others to a calm investigation of its nature and consequences. And if they cannot expect that the conclusions they have embraced should in general meet with entire assent, it is, however, not unreasonable to hope that some may be led by them to study the records of war in a spirit of impartial research, that will aid in dissipating the illusive mists with which ignorance and prejudice have long invested the subject, and which are already in many instances beginning to disappear.

The argument against war derived from the tenor of Christianity they cannot but consider as unanswered and unanswerable. To those who are in the habit of implicitly submitting every moral sentiment to the test of revelation, no other argument is needed. But the opinions of the generality are regulated far less by a sense of abstract right than by their conformity with the standard of supposed expediency. Now in what manner is the question of expediency to be tried in the present instance ? Surely by an appeal to experience. War is now generally admitted to be in itself an evil, fraught with incalculable hazard to the actors, and attended on every side by miseries, physical and political, against which it is impossible to guard. The question in debate, therefore, may be reduced to this : Are the results of war, deducting all its accompanying mischief, yet productive, upon the whole, of a counterbalance of good to the parties engaging in it ? If not, does there nevertheless exist a class of exceptions sufficiently marked and numerous to authorize a departure from the general rule which an extensive collation of facts may have enabled us to deduce ? In arguing this point, it is usual with the advocates of war to bring forward some imaginary case, in which one

of the parties is already reduced to extremities that could scarcely have occurred but from a series of mutual aggressions, and then, assuming that active force affords the only possible remedy for such a state of things, they triumphantly urge the charge of absurdity against their opponents. The friends of peace would rest their defence, not upon vague declamation, but upon the evidence of fact. In order, however, to make this evidence available, it is necessary that history should be studied with greater diligence, greater impartiality, and a more sedulous care to exclude every false light, than is commonly bestowed upon it. The searcher after truth must not be satisfied with superficial views. He must trace to their secret sources the several destructive wars which have been emblazoned in the annals of fame: he must observe their ruinous effects upon contending nations: he must investigate how far their proposed objects have been accomplished; and accurately distinguish between the alleged motives of statesmen, and the hidden springs by which the real authors of every contest have been actuated. Should the results of his examination be such as to warrant him in inferring that the greater number of wars have been as degrading in their origin, and futile in their end, as they are acknowledged to have been desolating in their progress, he must be cautious of recognizing probable exceptions in regard to events of immediate interest. An object may be seen too near to be comprehended in its due proportions. We can judge of its relative magnitude and position only by comparing it with others more distant, whose bearings have been previously ascertained. The warning of repeated failures has but little influence over the judgment in cases where the passions are brought into play. The gambler, who enters again and again upon the same hazardous speculation, still flatters himself with the assurance of ultimate success; but the cool by-stander will point to the tables in which his chances of gain and loss are calculated, and decide with unerring precision upon the probabilities of the future from the certainties of the past.

With the view of affording some hints that may assist in directing the inquirer into the proposed train of investigation, it is the plan of the present essay briefly to review the records of the most celebrated wars which distinguished the early periods of European history. An objection to the principle of peace is, however, sometimes started in

the very outset of such an inquiry. On unfolding the map of past ages, its most characteristic traits are observed to be those of universal violence. All its lines are lines of blood. From the first settlements of our infant race to the latest era of civilization and refinement, a system of reciprocal aggression appears to have entered into the very constitution of society. Hence it is alleged, that the law of force is part of the law of man's nature, the exercise of which being evidently interwoven with the whole scheme of Providence, does not admit of a dispute concerning its propriety. But this reasoning, if correct, would prove too much: for it may be applied with similar, if not equal, plausibility to the justification of whatever enormities have at any time been extensively prevalent. Pursued to its consequences, it would disprove the existence of moral evil altogether: that is—since we cannot shut our eyes upon the fact—it would annihilate the distinction between evil and good. We must indeed confess, that the existence of moral evil, incomprehensible as it has been, and will probably ever remain to our limited understandings, must in some mode or other be reconcilable with the attributes of perfect wisdom and goodness. But the believer in divine revelation possesses a no less assured conviction that the actual commission of wrong is directly opposed to the will of the Deity, and that the ultimate design of his government is to promote its extirpation. The general prevalence of any practice cannot, therefore, be admitted in evidence of its moral rectitude, in other words, of its conformity to the Divine will, unless it be previously shown that such practice proceeds, not from the abuse and misapplication of powers originally bestowed on us for valuable ends, but constitutes their sole and legitimate employment. Will it be maintained that any of our faculties have been implanted for the express purpose of mutual hatred and destruction;—or that the instinct of self-love has no other field to expatiate in than the perpetration of injury to others;—or that the intellectual and spiritual endowments of humanity were never designed to direct and restrain the use of the inferior propensities? Melancholy indeed would be the prospects of the human race, were the validity of such assertions to be allowed. The world is, then, exactly as it ought to be, and must ever remain! No improvement is practicable, and none is required!

But it has been said, and justly said, that under the superintending

agency of Providence, war has, in some instances, been rendered subservient to the cause of liberty and truth. So has tyranny, so has licentiousness, so has perhaps every other vice. The Supreme Director of human affairs takes up the proceedings of his ignorant, self-willed creatures into his own hands, and balancing one disorder against another, elicits from conflicting elements of evil a certain proportion of good. But, because in the accomplishment of the vast and benevolent designs of Deity, even the principle of evil has been made instrumental towards its own destruction, does it therefore follow that the ultimate ascendancy of purer and better principles is not within the compass of His purposes, or that He has left man unfurnished with motives to action, from which the same beneficial results may ensue, unattended by their present fearful counterpoise of ill? The alternate humiliation of contending nations may have occasionally contributed to the purification of both. Ambition and selfishness in one party may have checked the overspreading growth of ambition and selfishness in another, and the ruinous quarrels of the powerful may have allowed opportunity to the weak to escape from their domination. But were the conduct of all governed by juster sentiments, might not the general security be attained by far less expensive means?

Some ingenious authors have attempted to trace the origin and progress of civilized society to the events of war. Wherever may have been the primitive seats of civilization, our researches into the earliest records of almost every nation, lead us to ascribe its first introduction to a foreign source. But, obscure as these traditions in general are, as far as they may be relied upon, we are led to believe that many of the settlements which afterwards gave rise to the most illustrious nations of antiquity, were established at first by pacific measures; by that interchange of superior knowledge on the one side, and voluntary submission on the other, from which equal benefits accrued both to the aborigines and colonists. Some of the tribes who carried the blessings of social order in their train, had indeed been forced from their native country by the aggressions of a stronger neighbour; but others had been obliged to quit it from the pressure of a redundant population; and many of the most flourishing and durable settlements of the ancient world appear to have owed their birth to the peaceful pursuits of

commerce. If violence, therefore, has in several instances accompanied the march of civilization, it must be regarded as its incidental concomitant; not as the indispensable means of its progress. In modern times we have seen rude nations oppressed beneath the sway of their *civilized* conquerors, generation after generation, without advancing a single step in the career of improvement. While on the other hand, the energies of Christianity have recently brought into play an engine for the moral and intellectual regeneration of barbarous tribes, as superior in the purity of its actuating principles, as it will eventually prove in the tendencies of its influence to the chance operation of force.

It will, perhaps, be found, in pursuing the investigations commenced in the following pages, that the greater number of wars have originated in motives purely selfish,—that their effect has invariably been to multiply contests without end,—and that even where a certain portion of good has been eventually elicited, *that* good has consisted, not in the accomplishment of the wishes of either party, but in the ultimate overthrow of the designs of both.

So powerful are our early prepossessions in favour of that fascinating country, the lustre of whose arts, philosophy, and literature has diffused itself over succeeding ages, that we find it difficult to contemplate the celebrated struggles of Greece with any other sentiments than those of unmixed adoration. Enchanted by the glowing language of poets and later historians,* it is an ungrateful task to penetrate beneath the brilliant surface of partial declamation, and where fancy

* This excessive declamation on Grecian patriotism "had its origin in Greece, when Greece was in its decay; but has been mostly produced under the pressure of the imperial despotism of Rome, when men, not daring to speak directly against the government under which they lived, enjoyed a weak revenge in reviling it obliquely, or in obliquely exciting opposition to it through immoderate eulogies of the past."—*Mitford's History of Greece*. A similar opinion is expressed more at large by the writer of a very able article on "History," in a late number of the *Edinburgh Review*. Alluding to the later Greek historians, the author observes, "Owing to their circumstances, of liberty, such as it is in small democracies; of patriotism, such as it is in small independent communities; they had, and they could have, no experimental knowledge. It never occurred to them that the feeling which they so much admired sprung from local and spontaneous circumstances. The writers of whom we speak should have considered that in patriotism, such as it existed among the Greeks, there was nothing essentially and eternally good, that an exclusive attachment to a particular society, though a natural, and, under certain restrictions, a most useful sentiment, implies no extraordinary attainment of wisdom or virtue; that where it has

had pictured nothing but a generous and triumphant contest for liberty, to trace out the ruinous tendency of a base and narrow policy. But the more powerful has been the influence of classic prejudices over the feelings of mankind, the more imperative is the duty or submitting them to the test of impartial examination. In so doing, we must not be actuated by any invidious desire of lessening the veneration due to real excellence. Let its full tribute of praise be awarded to every deed of disinterested magnanimity, of unshrinking fortitude, of patriotic self-devotedness, even where exerted in a cause, which a more enlightened morality may have taught us to regard as indefensible. But let us not confound good and evil in our indiscriminating applause, or foolishly imagine that the laws of human nature, and the tendencies of human actions have been different in the favoured ages of antiquity from those to which all recent experience bears testimony. The moral and political condition of Greece, at the epoch of the Persian invasion, appears (according to the accounts of the most ancient and authentic historians) to have been in many respects truly deplorable. The boasted liberty of her freest states consisted in the uncontrolled supremacy of *one-twelfth* part of the population. The remainder, consigned to hopeless slavery, at once supplied the necessities and excited the terrors of their imperious masters. In consequence of such a derangement of the social structure, the lower classes of Athenian citizens, destitute of employment, were

existed in an intense degree, it has turned states into gangs of robbers, whom their mutual fidelity has rendered more dangerous, has given a character of peculiar atrocity to war, and has generated that worst of all political evils—the tyranny of nation over nation. Enthusiastically attached to the name of liberty, these historians troubled themselves little about its definition. The Spartans, tormented by ten thousand absurd restraints, unable to please themselves in the choice of their wives, their suppers, or their company, compelled to assume a peculiar manner and to talk in a peculiar style, gloried in their liberty. The aristocracy of Rome repeatedly made liberty a plea for cutting off the favourites of the people. In almost all the little commonwealths of antiquity, liberty was used as a pretext for measures directed against every thing which makes liberty valuable,—for measures which stifled discussion, corrupted the administration of justice, and discouraged the accumulation of property. These books have given currency to many very erroneous opinions with respect to ancient history. They have heated the imagination of boys. They have misled the judgment and corrupted the taste of some men of letters, such as Akenside and Sir W. Jones. And many of the evils of the French Revolution are, we believe, to be traced to the influence of the historians whom we have mentioned, and their modern imitators."

driven by idleness and misery into perpetual turbulence: while at Sparta, the horrible expedient of authorized massacres perpetrated upon the wretched Helots was adopted to allay the apprehensions of a servile rebellion. Every little state was at variance with its neighbours, and their internal warfare was characterised by deeds of ferocity and treachery not easily to be paralleled in the annals of history.* The vaunted patriotism of the Greeks was not only exclusive of every sentiment of justice or humanity towards foreigners, but was generally limited to the interests of a single state; nay, to the aggrandizement of a single party in that state. Within itself, we find each city divided into opposing factions, which, alternately triumphant, exercised the most unrelenting cruelty towards the vanquished party;† while the dependencies of the several republics were mostly ripened for revolt by the severity of the government under which they groaned. Mutual dissensions were, indeed, for a season, partially suspended by the overwhelming pressure of common danger: but it was only to be renewed with the bitterness of increased jealousy the moment that pressure was removed.

Dazzled by the splendid spectacle of a handful of men opposing a successful resistance to the combined forces of a mighty empire, it is seldom that we suffer ourselves to take an impartial view of the circumstances in which the Persian war had its origin. To form a just appreciation of the motives of its instigators, it is necessary to enter a little into detail. During a period of civil distraction, the Pisistratides, availing themselves of the favour of the popular party, had acquired the supreme direction of affairs at Athens, and for some time conducted the government in a mild and liberal spirit. At length, private revenge, assuming the mask of public virtue, armed itself with the dagger of the assassin. Tumults and severities ensued, which terminated in the expulsion of Hippias and the ascendancy of the Alcmaeonides.

* See, among other instances, the conduct of the Lacedaemonians under Cleomenes towards the wretched inhabitants of Argolis, who had sought refuge from threatened violence in one of their consecrated groves (*Herodotus*, according to Mitford); and the destruction of the Corinthians at Megara, under the Athenian Myronides.—*Thucydides*.

† Death to the obnoxious leaders, and slavery to their families, were the common attendants of a political revolution. The Eginetans, about the period of the Persian war, put to death seven hundred of the discomfited faction.

The Persian government, under the protection of which Hippias had placed himself, some years afterwards haughtily demanded of Athens his restoration to the supreme power. About this time the Ionians, who had formed one of the Persian dependencies ever since their subjugation by Cyrus, and appear to have lived under an equal and beneficial system of administration, were invited to throw off the yoke by the following circumstances. Hystiæus, governor of Miletus, was detained by Darius, who feared his ambitious designs, in a sort of honourable exile at Susa. Impatient to return to his country, and hoping that he might be invested with the command of the royal forces, Hystiæus commissioned his son-in-law, Aristagoras, to endeavour to excite a rebellion amongst the inhabitants of Ionia. A previous quarrel with the Persian general, with whom Aristagoras had been engaged in an expedition against a party of his fellow-countrymen at Naxos, induced that general to yield a ready assent to the proposals of Hystiæus; and the concurrence of the European Greeks was also solicited in an enterprise against Persia. The Athenians, irritated by the requisition of the Persians to recall their banished citizen, eagerly seized the opportunity of revenge, and, without any formal declaration of war, commenced hostilities by the burning of Sardis. Enmity against the *Æginetans*, who had espoused the opposite cause, and between whom and the Athenians there existed a feud of ancient date, appears subsequently to have contributed not a little to strengthen the hatred of the latter towards the Persian nation, and to have occasioned that barbarous, and, according to the sentiments of the time, sacrilegious treatment of the heralds, which drew down upon Athens the especial vengeance of Darius. At the commencement of the war, and repeatedly during its progress, we find nearly all the Grecian states, with the exception of Athens, availing themselves of every imaginable excuse for evading their share in the general defence; while the latter, urged to extremity by the unpardonable nature of the insult she had offered in the burning of Sardis, was reduced to employ artifice, and even bribery, to secure the co-operation of her neighbours. The event of the contest is well known, and cannot be regarded with indifference. It evinced the superiority of skill and desperate resolution, aided, however, by local advantages, over the force of an undisciplined and uninterested multitude. But let it be remembered that the ultimate object of the

struggle was professedly liberty on the one side, while on the other it was in fact the preservation of internal tranquillity,* and the extension of foreign dominion. Mark how far these respective objects were attained! To Persia, the disastrous consequences of her ambitious and mistaken policy did not terminate with the immediate defeat she sustained. The invasions of Darius and his successor were a principal cause of that introduction of Persian interests in the affairs of Greece, which eventually roused the united Greek nations against the empire, and brought about its overthrow by the arms of Alexander.

In tracing the progress of the triumphant party, it is curious to observe in how direct a line the victories of Marathon and Salamis led to the subversion of national independence. Indeed the narrative of Grecian history from this period affords a striking exemplification of the law by which a long train of military successes invariably engender pride, ambition, and consequent reverse of fortune. It exhibits a series of wars, each kindled at the embers of the preceding, temporary pacifications affording materials for fresh disputes, until all the contending states are finally overwhelmed in one common ruin.

At Athens, the disproportionate ascendancy which the populace had acquired from the circumstances of the struggle with Persia; the consequent necessity of gratifying their extravagance by the imposition of heavy burdens on subordinate allies; the power and reputation which had accrued to her navy since the battle of Salamis; the spirit of ambitious enterprise fostered by the memory of recent achievements; †—all united in producing those acts of injustice and oppressive domination,‡ which alarmed the jealousy of neighbouring states, and gave rise to the Peloponnesian war.

* The desire for furnishing employment for restless spirits seems to have been a principal motive for Darius's Scythian expedition, and probably had its weight in inducing him to undertake the war with Greece.

† The extravagant ambition of Athens is ascribed by her comic poet to the vanity occasioned by her past exploits. "A thousand cities pay tribute to Athens: were each ordered to furnish subsistence for only twenty Athenians, twenty thousand of us might live in ease and luxury, in a manner worthy of the dignity of the republic, and the trophies of Marathon."—*Aristophanes*.

‡ A modern French writer correctly describes the conduct of Athens at this period, in the following words:—"Towns taken and pillaged without remorse, the

To recite all the instances of barbarity and treachery by which this war was distinguished would be to transcribe the greater part of Grecian history. Among the most prominent are the execution of the conquered Plataeans, by the Lacedæmonian commissioners; the decree of the Athenians against Mitylene; the massacre of the Corcyreans under the sanction of Eurymedon the Athenian admiral; and the murder of the Scionæans. It was customary with the Lacedæmonians wherever they fell in with the merchant ships of the Athenians, or even of their allies among neutral republics, to put the crews indiscriminately to death.*

For a short time the power of Athens appeared to be only augmented by opposition; but the animosity of her enemies increasing in proportion to the arrogance she displayed, a transient interruption of the contest was succeeded by redoubled hostilities; her ambitious interference in Sicily terminated in disgrace and misery, and was followed by the revolt of her maritime dependencies. Successive struggles ensued, until Athens—the proud, the victorious—lay humbled in the dust. Sparta rose upon the fallen fortunes of her rival; similar prosperity was attended by similar effects; the degrading tyranny exercised by Lacedæmon over her allies excited universal indignation; a general confederacy was formed against her, and she saved herself from impending destruction only by the *peace of Antalcidas*;—a measure that involved all Greece, and conceded to the Persian monarch that sovereignty over the Greek colonies in Asia, which it had been a primary object of the first Persian war to wrest from him.† With returning power the disposition to tyrannize displayed itself as usual, and the despotism of Sparta at Thebes gave rise to a revolution, and general war. The latter terminated in the battle of Mantinea, and left behind it, according to contemporary historians, nothing but increased trouble, indecision, and confusion throughout Greece.‡ The depressed condition to which her rivals had

people forced to pay contributions, the rights of neutral powers violated, and other republics obliged by the Athenians to combine with them against states which had given them no offence, to produce a war; insolence and injustice carried to the highest pitch; the Athenians treating the ambassadors of other nations with marked contempt, and openly asserting that they knew no other right than force.”—*Chateaubriand*.

* Mitford.

† Rollin.

‡ Xenophon.

reduced themselves by mutual contention, left Athens once more in the ascendant, and aroused that ambitious spirit which repeated disgraces had been insufficient to quell. The Social war ensued ; it lasted two years, and ended by a treaty wherein every object for which the war had been undertaken on the part of Athens was abandoned, and that haughty republic received the seal of her degradation in the enforced relinquishment of her long-cherished claim of supremacy over her maritime allies.*

The event of the battle of Mantinea, the glory of which accrued principally to Thebes, was to no other nation of Greece perhaps so effectually disastrous.† It awakened revenge and avarice, which, mingling with the ever-active desire of aggrandizement, led to measures that in a short time plunged all the Grecian republics into the Sacred war. Thebes was the principal sufferer ; but the circumstances of the contest opened a way for the interference of Philip of Macedon in the affairs of Greece. The unprincipled ambition of the Athenians afforded a fair pretext for the farther prosecution of his designs ; weakness and distraction of interests, arising from long continued dissensions, prepared the ground for the conqueror ; the battle of Chæronea was fought, and Greece deprived of her liberty for ever. She sunk under the dominion of Alexander ; became the spoil of his generals ; and the scarce-resisting prey of imperial Rome. The Roman yoke was exchanged only for that of different tribes of barbarians, until, about the middle of the fifteenth century, she found a melancholy repose in the stability of the Ottoman empire. Such were the ultimate consequences of the celebrated triumphs of Greece ! Such were

* The Oration on Peace delivered by Isocrates upon this occasion, contains passages worthy of notice, as it shows that there were men, even in those days, who were capable of discerning the real tendency of war, and of appreciating the true means of promoting the prosperity of states. " Peace should be made, not only with the Chians, but with all mankind. Opportunity is abundantly open for increasing the power and wealth of the republic in better ways" than by war. " Colonies might in many parts be established, as many have been, without injury to any, and this would better become those ambitious of being esteemed the first people of Greece than what is now the favourite purpose, to be eminent by making continual war with hired troops. Far from such extravagance, it should be our care, not only to make peace but to maintain it. But this will never be, till we are persuaded that quiet is more profitable than disturbance, justice than injustice, the care of our own than grasping at what belongs to others."

† Continuation of Goldsmith's Roman History.

the fruits of the spirit fostered by martial enterprise! Yet poetry, oratory, and philosophy,—all the arts which expand the intellect and refine the taste of civilized men, — were, it is urged, carried to their highest pitch of excellence during the period of warlike turbulence.—They were: but not in consequence of that turbulence; or why did not Thebes and Lacedæmon partake the glory? Why have not other nations, equally brave and equally warlike, risen to the same eminence with polished Athens? Why—excepting that causes remote from military excitement, — natural susceptibility, a situation advantageous for commerce, &c. contributed to place her there, and gave birth to poets and historians, whose writings have spread the renown of victories which other nations might have achieved, but have wanted the pen to proclaim. The wars undertaken professedly for the sake of liberty ended in the subversion of national independence while the labours of imagination and intellect have extended their benefits to the “barbarous” tribes of a distant age; — benefits alloyed, however by the results of that fatal connexion of ideas which has led men to crown, with undistinguishing admiration, the trophies of Grecian literature and the achievements of military violence.

Having reviewed the wars of republican Greece, the victories of Alexander next claim our attention. The object of this far-famed conqueror, whenever it went beyond the mere gratification of personal vanity, appears to have been the security and extension of his hereditary dominions. The arms of the Macedonians diffused, indeed, over Asia and Egypt the language and learning of Greece;* but the career of the victor was cut short by an untimely death, his empire was broken up, his posterity destroyed; while his native kingdom, Macedon, invaded on every side, and long exposed as a prey to the strongest, finally became the possession of another family. Like the equally celebrated hero of a subsequent age, Julius Cæsar, the advantages he conferred by his conquests were undesigned and contingent; their evils recoiled upon himself and his country.

The leading events of the history of Rome, having already been briefly reviewed in a former essay,† will not here be noticed in

* Bossuet.

† See “An Examination of the Principles which are considered to support the Practice of War,” p. 11

detail. A few remarks only will be hazarded on the ultimate consequences of her unexampled military success. From the destruction of Carthage the real prosperity of Rome began to decline. Her power had risen to such an height that re-action became inevitable: the change which had taken place was too rapid to be permanent.

The fierce and bloody struggles of her triumphant generals, the moral corruption and stagnation of industry which necessarily accompany the sudden acquisition of unearned wealth, were the inevitable precursors of that worst of tyrannies, a military despotism. Her foreign possessions continued to increase, but the spring of domestic energy was gone. "Exhausted by her conquests, and poisoned by the fruits of her own rapacity,"* she yielded an ignominious submission to the very troops whom she had been compelled to employ for the preservation of her unwieldy dominions, and terminated her political existence in a miserable subjection to the numerous tribes of barbarians, whom her wealth and indolence had attracted to the division of spoil. With respect to the influence of the Roman government upon the interests of conquered nations, it has been observed, that the unlimited extent of her sway was far from producing a state of happiness, or being favourable to the improvement of mankind at large. Like that of all other great empires, the dominion of the Romans degraded and debased the human species.† The armies of the republic crushed in Italy and Greece more germs of civilization than they ever planted on the face of the earth;‡ and the vast despotism of the Cæsars, gradually effacing all national peculiarities, and assimilating remotest provinces to each other, augmented the evil.§ Society fell into a state of unparalleled stupefaction. "Thus it existed for nearly a thousand years, without making one great discovery in science, or producing one book which is read by any but curious inquirers."||

On the ruins of the empire of Rome was founded, after the lapse of three or four centuries, the wide-spreading monarchy of Charlemagne. The ambition of this prince, availing itself of those pretexts for which ambition is seldom at a loss, and unrestrained by any

* Campbell—Lectures to the Students at Glasgow.

† Robertson—Introduction to Charles V.

§ Edinburgh Review.

‡ Campbell's Lectures

|| Ibid.

scruples of justice or humanity,* enabled him not only to reduce the whole of France under his own jurisdiction, but to render himself master of the northern provinces of Spain, and the greatest part of Italy, Germany, Hungary, and Poland. Scarcely, however, were the ashes of the conqueror cold in his grave, than the quarrels of his successors, each anxious to have the sole enjoyment of such extensive power, upset the political system he had spent his life in building up, dismembered his mighty empire, and brought about the destruction or misery of nearly every individual of his surviving family. France itself, deluged with the blood of civil commotion, was at the same time laid open to the ravages of those piratical nations whom, in attempting to subdue, Charlemagne had only inspired with fresh vigour and animosity.† “Perhaps,” says Gibbon, “in his expedition beyond the Rhine and Elbe, he aspired to save his monarchy from the fate of the Roman empire, to disarm the enemies of civilized society, and to eradicate the seed of future immigrations. But it has been wisely observed, that in a light of precaution, all conquest must be ineffectual unless it could be universal; since the increasing circle must be involved in a larger sphere of hostilities. The subjugation of the Germans withdrew the veil which had so long concealed the continent or islands of Scandinavia from the knowledge of Europe, and awakened the torpid courage of their barbarous natives. The fiercest of the Saxon idolaters escaped from the Christian tyrant to their brethren of the North: the Ocean and Mediterranean were covered with their piratical fleets, and Charlemagne beheld with a sigh the destructive progress of the Normans, who in less than seventy years precipitated the fall of his race and monarchy.” The pacific measures of this prince’s reign; his encouragement of literature, agriculture, and commerce, were the only truly glorious features of his policy, and might have proved permanently beneficial to France, had not their effects been neutralized by the consequence of his military undertakings.

The celebrated expeditions of the Crusades form the most remarkable feature in the next succeeding era of European history. The

* Few despots have stained their career with deeds of more enormous cruelty. Four thousand Saxons who refused to submit to his yoke were butchered in one day. On the occasion of a subsequent revolt, besides ravaging the country with fire and sword, he decimated all the inhabitants in cool blood.

† Morden—Universal History.

fanatical phrenzy by which they were prompted can meet with so little sympathy in the present day, and the utter failure of their immediate objects, as well as their disastrous results to the parties engaging in them, are so generally known, that a few observations on the origin and tendency of these extraordinary enterprises will suffice for the present purpose. Religious enthusiasm, though the first, was probably not the only nor the most permanent principle of the crusades. The love of plunder, the desire of conquest, the honours and immunities that were so liberally bestowed upon all who bore the sacred sign of the cross, had no doubt their full share in animating the zeal of princes and nobles. In the issue, the impoverishment of the chieftains extorted concessions of their power, rebellion at home presented a mournful contrast to trophies abroad, "the estates of the barons were dissipated, and their race often extinguished in the costly and perilous enterprises of which they were the conductors."* Indeed the diminished authority and influence of that very class by whose restless ambition the crusades had been principally kept up, are considered, by an eminent historian, as constituting, in fact, their only beneficial result. "Some philosophers," observes Gibbon, "have applauded the propitious influence of these holy wars, which appear to me to have checked, rather than forwarded, the maturity of Europe." "The lives and labours of millions which were buried in the East, would have been more profitably employed in their native country; the accumulated stock of industry and wealth would have overflowed in navigation and trade, and the Latins would have been enriched and enlightened by a pure and friendly correspondence with the East." The commerce of the Italian cities, though it received a stimulus from the passage of the crusaders, did not originate with them; for in the darkest and most barbarous periods, Venice already carried on an extensive traffic both with Greeks and Saracens; and the ardour of studious curiosity was awakened in Europe by different causes and more recent events. "In the age of the crusades, they viewed with careless indifference the literature of the Greeks and Arabians. The principle of these wars was a savage fanaticism, and the most important effects were analogous to the cause."† It is a curious fact that these very expeditions, which were undertaken with

* Gibbon.

† Ibid.

the express design of rescuing Eastern Asia from the dominion of infidels, in the event contributed materially to the establishment of a Mahometan power in Europe.

About the year 1202, an armament of crusaders took advantage of the domestic seditions of Constantinople to besiege and pillage that city: and although it was subsequently recaptured, yet the Greek empire never recovered the blow it had thus sustained.* Her territories dismembered, her wealth and influence passed into other hands, and the great Christian power of the East, helpless and almost unassisted, became an easy prey to the arms of her *infidel* invaders.

The annals of the dark and troubled period, usually denominated the Middle Ages, are so crowded with scenes of bloodshed and disorder as to render it difficult to select a few leading traits sufficiently distinguished from the general mass of confusion to arrest the attention of the reader. War between man and man, city and city, nation and province, ravaged at the same time every corner of Europe, and presents an almost unmingled spectacle of violence and wretchedness. Never has mankind at large been more miserable than when war was most frequent and most honoured.—The greater part of these narratives are now passed over by the mere general student with a single superficial glance. And why is it so? Because nearly all the desolating conflicts of pride and tyranny which they record failed in producing any permanent visible effect, left no renown to their authors, and were utterly inoperative to the ends proposed.

Among the wars of the middle ages, which stand sufficiently prominent to fall within the limits of this review, are the national and civil wars of Italy;—the struggles of Switzerland and Austria;—and the chivalrous contests between England and France.

When the decline of the Carlovingian race left Northern Italy once more arbiter of her own destiny, the independence of that country was sacrificed to the quarrels of its princes.† In consequence of their dissensions, it became a prey to the ravages of the Hungarians and Saracens, and exhibited, during the greater part of the tenth century, the united horrors of intestine warfare and barbarian

* Hallam's Middle Ages.

† Professor Miller's Philosophy of History, Hallam's Middle Ages, Robertson's Charles V., Sismondi's History of the Italian Republics, and the Universal History, have been the works principally consulted in the following sketch.

invasion. From these miseries, the Italians sought refuge in the intervention of the German monarch; and the result was the imposition of a foreign yoke. The pretext for the celebrated war, which took place in the eleventh century, between one of these sovereigns, Henry the Fourth of Germany, and the Roman see, was afforded by the event of a prior conquest, and originated in the following circumstances. The people of Saxony, although they had formerly given rulers to Germany, were still regarded by the Southern part of the nation as the inhabitants of a conquered province. Contempt and oppression produced an insurrection among them; and the emperor called in the pope to his assistance. The reigning pontiff eagerly availed himself of so favourable a crisis to raise the famous dispute concerning ecclesiastical investitures. Henry plunged into the conflict, which terminated, after thirty years of warfare, in his utter ruin and degradation. The question was finally decided by a compromise, in which neither party were apparently gainers, although, as it afterwards appeared, the papal pretensions had, in fact, acquired some ascendancy. This struggle, while it gave the Italian cities an opportunity of regaining in some measure their ancient independence, left behind it the germ of those terrible factions which, for three hundred years, kept Germany and Italy in perpetual agitation, and ultimately caused the total subversion of liberty in the latter country.* Scarcely had the states of Lombardy recovered a degree of external freedom than their whole history becomes a confused assemblage of mutual contentions. "They played over again the tragedy of ancient Greece, with all its circumstances of inveterate hatred, unjust ambition, and atrocious retaliation."† The leading cities subjugated or destroyed the inferior, while those of more equal force carried on interminable and wasting hostilities. It was in one of these instances of unprincipled spoliations that Frederic Barbarossa found an occasion of reviving and prosecuting the claims of sovereignty, which, during the preceding age, seem to have been virtually abandoned by the German emperors. The city of Lodi had been

* It is to the earlier struggles of the ninth century that St. Mare refers the origin of the Guelf and Ghibelline factions. The argument remains of equal force, whichever hypothesis be adopted. By the former term, the supporters of the papal, by the latter, those of the imperial interest were designated.

† Hallam.

razed by the Milanese, and its inhabitants subjected to an unrelenting despotism. Two of them supplicated redress at the hands of Frederic, who accordingly entered the north of Italy at the head of a numerous army, captured the city of Milan, and allured or terrified the remaining republics into submission. The height of Frederic's military glory proved, however, the brink of his downfall. A combination was formed against him: he suffered a decisive defeat in the battle of Legano, and in 1183 was compelled, by the treaty of Constance, to secure their customary rights and privileges to all the states of Lombardy. But the permanent advantages of liberty were unattainable by those whom continual hostilities had disqualified from a right improvement of her blessings. In the earlier periods of the Lombard republics, their differences had been frequently appeased by the mediation of the emperors. The sudden loss of this influence proved, in itself, no slight evil.* Moreover, the nobles, inured to martial habits, and having imbibed, in the late wars, a passion for personal aggrandizement, exerted their superior force in acts of irritating oppression against the commercial part of the population. Each successive contest with Germany had also added fresh venom to the fatal feuds of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, and contributed to foster those seeds of civil discord which quickly sprung up into a fatal harvest of blood and misery. For a short period, the energies of a free government counterbalanced all these evils; but as internal dissensions reached their height, every city became divided into opposing and remorseless faction. No mercy was shown by the victorious party, and the vanquished, often forgetting their boasted patriotism, called in on every side those whom they hoped to make the avengers of their wrongs. The loss of freedom itself appeared to their exasperated passions a trivial misfortune when compared with the ascendancy of an adversary. Most of the principal states had, in consequence, by the middle of the fourteenth century, submitted to the sway of some petty tyrant; while the smaller republics, having sought protection and the means of retaliation in the aid of their more powerful neighbours, gradually sunk into dependence and hopeless servitude. Milan, once conspicuous in asserting the claims of public liberty, was among the first and the most degraded of the former class. Pisa had

* Hallam.

early risen to opulence and distinction by her commercial activity. But, from a spirit of petty rivalry, she became engaged in a series of wars with Genoa, until, at the battle of Meloria, in 1284, her navy was totally destroyed, eleven thousand of her citizens taken prisoners, and her maritime empire annihilated. Despoiled of her political importance, she became a prey to successive tyrants, and was at last laid prostrate at the feet of Florence. The prosperity of her enemies was, however, so far from being augmented by their triumph, that the slavery of Pisa, by depriving Italy of the commerce of one of its most flourishing states, proved a general misfortune to the country; and to Florence, the acquisition of this and many other apparently valuable prizes served only to diminish her internal resources, and to create a source of perpetual weakness and alarm.* In the meantime, the power and arrogance assumed by Genoa, after the humiliation of her rival, contributed to awaken the jealousy of Venice, and led to a long course of sanguinary wars, by which both parties were at last so exhausted as to be willing to accept the mediation of the duke of Savoy. At the peace thus negotiated in 1381, Genoa obtained only the isle of Tenedos, one of the original subjects of dispute, and but a poor indemnity for her losses: while Venice was obliged to surrender the greater part of her territorial possessions to the king of Hungary. Indeed that prince, and Francis Carrara, were the only gainers by the event of the late protracted quarrel. From this epoch may be dated the decline of Genoa; her navy dwindled into insignificance, her commerce went to decay, and the fifteenth century was (until modern times) the most ignominious period of her annals.

Through a series of similar occurrences, the smaller states of Italy were gradually swallowed up by the larger. The number of those who had an interest in the prosperity of their common country was thus continually diminished:† the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, no longer concerned in the preservation of liberty, were disposed to revolt at the first appearance of danger, or even to welcome the prospect of a more distant master. Thus prepared, Italy presented, in the fifteenth century, a fitting theatre for the contentions of transalpine powers. The fertility of her soil, the mildness of her climate, and the peculiar inducements to commercial enterprise

* Sismondi.

† Ibid.

afforded by her geographical situation, had enabled her, earlier than any of the other states of Europe, to recover from the disastrous effects of barbarian invasion; while the freedom bequeathed to her by the weakness of her oppressors had contributed to exalt her to a station of intellectual and political eminence. But all these advantages had been offered up to the demon of war, and national independence was the consummation of the sacrifice. The beautiful plains of the Adige and the Po were for half a century ravaged by the armies of the stranger, and long ages of suffering and degradation have been the fruit of those sanguinary struggles which once formed the glory and boast of the Italian republics.

In reviewing the early history of Switzerland, we enter upon ground long held sacred to the cause of liberty and patriotism. May it be approached with no intention of depreciating those inestimable blessings; or of attempting to palliate the guilt of oppression! At a period when all Europe was convulsed by the struggle between feudal claims on the one hand, and the awakening spirit of freedom on the other, the inhabitants of Switzerland would have been more than human had they risen above the sentiments of their age, and opposed tyranny with no other arms than those of moderation, justice, and invincible resolution. Yet, to a practical application of the lessons of history, it is absolutely necessary to discriminate between actions which, both in their motives and tendencies, demand our unqualified approbation, and others, which, though interwoven with the same events, may nevertheless be of a totally opposite character. It will be seen that the annals of Switzerland occasionally exhibit instances of generosity and noble endurance, which, from the nature of their results, afford a fair presumption of the beneficial consequences that might have ensued from a more extended application of the same principle; but it must also be observed whether the various wars in which the nation engaged during the period under examination were, in fact, simply defensive and indispensable to the preservation of their liberty, and whether even those in which there existed the least provocation on their side were not in the end productive of the usual pernicious effects upon the morals and interests of the successful party.

As far as regards the House of Austria, there can be no dispute concerning either the character or consequences of these wars. They

began in an undue thirst of dominion, and invariably terminated in mortification, disgrace, and merited discomfiture.*

The early rise of liberty among the Swiss can be attributed to no cause so probable as to the exemption which their mountainous situation afforded from the conflicts which, after the fall of the Roman empire, desolated the rest of Europe.† Hence the middle classes were not kept down by the depressing influence of the feudal system, and the military services with which it was connected. The true conservative principle of the freedom thus acquired, was exemplified in the simple firmness of some shepherds of Schwitz, who, in 1144, refused to yield their native right of pasture to the encroachments of the monks of Einsidlen. These peasants remained unmoved under the ban of the empire, and the excommunication of the church, continuing to trade with the neighbouring cities and to tend their cattle as before, unaided and undaunted. About the year 1307, Albert, Duke of Austria and Emperor of Germany, not satisfied with the allegiance which the people of the Waldstetten rendered him as head of the empire, formed a project of uniting those cantons, together with his own feudal territories, into an hereditary appanage of his family. In order to subdue opposition, instead of commissioning, as had been usual, an imperial governor of rank to act as their judge in criminal cases, he sent them two of his inferior dependents, who endeavoured, by every species of oppression, to vanquish the inflexibility of the mountaineers. A spirit of resistance was excited, and remonstrance proving vain, a small band of the injured natives assembled to concert the means of redressing their grievances. On this memorable occasion, it was unanimously resolved that "the counts of Nassbourg should be deprived of none of their lands, vassals, or prerogatives, and that their bailiffs, their officers, and attendants should not lose a single drop of blood."‡ One exception alone occurred to the fulfilment of their determination,—the assassination of Gesler by William Tell; and this action, however held up to the applause of subsequent ages, was condemned at the time by many of his own friends, as at once culpable in itself, and materially

* The biographer of the House of Austria mentions several of its princes who died in a state of hopeless despondency in consequence of the failure of their ambitious projects.—*Coxe's Memoirs of the House of Austria*.

† Mackinnon's Essay on Public Opinion.

‡ Pianta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy.

endangering the success of their cause. Landenburg, the colleague of Gesler, was afterwards seized with all his châtelains, and carried to the frontier under an injunction never to return. The death of Albert, inflicted by his own relations and adherents, in revenge for his unjust encroachments upon their privileges, providentially intercepted any designs of vengeance he might have entertained.* His successor in the imperial throne, Henry of Luxembourg, admiring the forbearance that had been displayed by the Swiss, treated them with distinguished favour, granted an ample confirmation of their sole dependence upon the empire, and exemption from all foreign jurisdiction.

It was, however, to be expected that the House of Austria would watch for the first pretext for prosecuting their schemes of unprincipled ambition. This pretext was unfortunately furnished by the Swiss themselves. A quarrel broke out between the people of Schwitz and the monks of Einsidlen.† The former, not content with repelling the insults they had received, and obtaining a conciliatory award from the emperor, adopted measures of retaliation. Shortly after this occurrence, there arose a contest for the imperial dignity between Frederic of Austria and Louis of Bavaria. The majority of the Swiss cantons zealously took part against their ancient enemy, although that neutrality was in their power is evident from the example of Berne. Leopold, brother to the Duke of Austria, was also advocate to the abbey of Einsidlen, and availing himself of the double plea thus afforded, he attacked the Swiss with a considerable force.‡ The battle of Morgarten ensued, and the cause of independence was triumphant; but the Swiss appear to have gained nothing by the contest, besides a confirmation of privileges they already possessed. Among the various hostile operations which succeeded the battle, one circumstance is related which strikingly illustrates the natural tendency of generous and pacific dispositions, even when exercised towards an enemy. Soleure having embraced the cause of Louis, was besieged by Duke Leopold, when a sudden inundation of the river endangered the lives of a number of his men. Immediately the inhabitants, forgetful of all hostile considerations,

* Simond's Switzerland.

† Planta.

‡ Coxe's Memoirs of the House of Austria.

put off in boats, and rescued the sufferers. The Duke was so touched by this instance of magnanimity, that he requested to be received into the town, and agreed to conditions of peace. None of his wars ever terminated so much to his advantage.*

Successive acts of oppression, on the part of the Austrian government, led to a defensive confederacy among several of the Swiss cantons. Some of these cantons pursued their object by measures the most moderate and pacific. In others, the cause of liberty was disgraced by injustice and bloodshed. The results were in general exactly correspondent with the character of their origin. Lucerne, injured in her commerce and population by forced contributions to the military expeditions of Austria, sought admission into the confederacy; but made, at the same time, a reservation of all the lawful prerogatives of the House of Austria. The Dukes Albert and Otho were so favourably inclined by the spirit of justice displayed in this transaction, that they not only abstained from any hostile attempt, but even consented to general pacification, during which all matters relating to the cantons were to be amicably adjusted. Zurich, on the contrary, acquired her independence through the instrumentality of a ferocious demagogue, and sealed it by a treacherous attack on the neighbouring town of Rapperschwyl, thus wantonly drawing upon herself the resentment of the duke. He accordingly invaded Switzerland: several severe conflicts took place; and Zurich, the primary cause of the war, not only deserted her allies, but entered into dishonourable engagements with the House of Austria. An armistice was at length mediated, and Albert died shortly afterwards, being reduced by the failure of his ambitious projects to such a state of despondency that his family were obliged to forbid the name of a Swiss being mentioned in his presence. The next open rupture with Austria took place in 1385. It originated principally in the arrogance of the house of Hapsburg, but was not entirely unprovoked on the part of the Swiss.†

* Simond.

† The jealousy of Leopold appears to have been excited by the proposed league with the Suabian cities, to which Zurich, Berne, Zug, Soleure, &c. acceded, while the Forest Cantons more prudently declined the measure, alleging, that it was contrary to the fundamental principle of their union to involve themselves in the quarrels of others. About the same time the people of Zurich, probably for some remains of their former enmity, seem to have projected a surprise of the town of Rapperschwyl, at that time dependent upon Austria.

Various disputes, in which the confederates thought themselves obliged not only to repel, but to take vengeance for the insults offered to their co-burghers,* contributed to exasperate the animosity of both parties. The battle of Sempach ensued, in which the courage and local advantages of the Swiss proved as usual more than a match for the erroneous tactics and burdensome armour of their opponents.† This memorable victory did not, however, put an end to the contest, which was continued in a desultory warfare. The Swiss took several castles, threw some of the garrisons over the battlements, and plundered the neighbouring abbeys. They also thought it necessary, as a measure of precaution, to capture the Austrian town of Wesen, an event which, in its consequences, led to another invasion of their enemies, and occasioned the battle of Hofsels. In 1414, a truce for fifty years was concluded with the House of Austria.

Hitherto the people of Switzerland had acted comparatively on the defensive; but the military spirit, which had been cherished by their repeated successes, had already begun to manifest its usual tendencies. A passion for conquest arose; happily, however, for Switzerland, restricted in its operation by the flourishing condition of surrounding states. Three years after the conclusion of the truce with Austria, Duke Frederic was excommunicated, and the Emperor of Germany, availing himself of the long-standing animosity of the Swiss against the head of the House of Hapsburg, invited them to seize upon his dominions. The acquisition of so rich a prize was of course esteemed at the time highly advantageous to the cantons; but, by sowing the seeds of dissension among them, it proved in the end a source of misfortune and degradation. Discontents sprung up concerning the division of the spoil, and those of the cantons which had acquired new subjects were generally involved in disputes with them.‡ A consciousness of military strength made the whole nation impatient and restless, and involved the different cantons, on the most trivial occasions, in frequent and bloody struggles with each other.§ The

* Planta.

† Simond.

‡ The late vassals of the duke, finding that they had gained nothing by the transfer of their allegiance, rebelled against their aristocratic masters; and the burghers, in many instances, sought to support their own arbitrary measures by alliances with those very nobles whose power they had so long aimed at reducing.

§ Zurich even called in the armies of France and Austria to assist in one of her quarrels.

next general war in which the Swiss engaged, was against Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, which, while it raised their military reputation to the highest pitch, proved most unfortunate in its effects upon the morals and happiness of the nation.* The insults of one Hagenbach, a creature of the Duke's, appear at last to have provoked Berne and Friburg to measures of retaliation. Charles, infatuated with ambition, attacked the confederate cantons, who were encouraged in the war by the concurrence of Duke Sigismond, of Austria, and by large bribes from the king of France, each of whom had his own political purposes to serve.† Having defeated the duke of Burgundy, the victorious Swiss possessed themselves of the towns of his allies, massacring the garrisons in cold blood, and, in one instance, putting to death their own executioner for having suffered some of the destined victims to escape. The duke of Burgundy became irrecoverably deranged in consequence of the mortification attending the failure of his schemes, in the mad prosecution of which he finally perished; while the Swiss, suddenly enriched by plunder, neglected the pursuits of industry, and multitudes of every class hastened to enrol themselves in foreign service. Habits of predatory warfare filled the land with vices of the grossest kind: fifteen hundred persons are stated to have perished by the hand of the executioner in the course of a single year.‡ The noted prowess of the mountaineers caused them to be eagerly sought after as the instruments of ambition. They were successfully engaged by the Pope against Milan, and by Charles VIII. in his Italian wars, where their love of fighting was continually fostered by the reputation it procured them. About 1495, they entered, without any apparent motive, into a most bloody and remorseless civil war, in the course of which six great battles were fought; the country about Constance was laid waste, and the houseless and starving inhabitants were reduced, in the midst of a hard winter, to seek shelter in the woods.§ The armies of Switzerland were afterwards engaged by Louis XII. in his expedition against Milan, upon which occasion they appropriated to themselves such parts of the conquered territory as they were able to seize: this conduct gave rise to a quarrel with their employer, and turning their arms against him, they fought the battle of Hovarra, where they lost more than a quarter of their force. They continued how-

* Simond.

† Philip de Comines.

‡ Simond.

ever to enter more and more into the disputes of foreign powers; and bodies of Swiss troops occasionally found themselves arrayed against each other on the same field of battle. The excess of wealth acquired in the Italian wars added fresh fuel to the factions by which the country was already distracted. All parties, equally covetous of aggrandizement, were equally disappointed and soured at every reverse; and had not their downward progress been intercepted by the new spirit awakened at the Reformation,* Switzerland would probably have reaped the harvest of her military achievements in the ruin of the nation. Such is the natural tendency of even the *most* justifiable wars!

We now come to a portion of history which was formerly regarded by the English nation as among the most brilliant in her annals; how correctly, let a view of the facts decide.

The wars of every different age and country are marked by a character corresponding with the state of society in which they were carried on. Those between England and France, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, present the most striking exemplification of the system of chivalry. They show how little the boasted honour founded in military institutions was regarded as incompatible with the grossest instances of treachery, cruelty, and oppression. They contain abundant evidence that love of gain was at least as powerful a stimulus to martial enterprise as love of glory; that, in fact, the volunteer knight was as mercenary as the hired soldier, with this difference alone—the soldier received a stipulated pay for his services, and had the chance of booty; the knight depended partly upon his individual prowess in making prisoners, whose ransom formed his wealth, and much upon his dexterity and cunning in finding opportunities for plunder.†

* Simond.

† The mixed motives of these military adventurers present a striking resemblance to those of a certain class of heroes in our own day. Cunningham, speaking of the bands of runaway convicts who infest the settlements of New South Wales, observes, "The vanity of being talked of, I verily believe, leads many foolish fellows to join this kind of life, songs being often made about their exploits, by their sympathizing brethren; while the fame, such as it is, which they acquire, is enough to make many restless spirits, who long for any species of immortality, venture considerable lengths to attain it. It is the boast of most of them, that their names will live in the remembrance of the colony long after their exit from among us." One of their captains vaunted that "he should be long spoken of,

With respect to the *justice* of the claim which furnished Edward III. with a pretext for his attack upon France, it is sufficient to observe, that even had his reasoning upon the Salique law been well founded, namely, had the right to inherit the French crown been transmitted through the female line, the queen of Navarre had a son, grandson to Louis X., who, upon that very principle, stood one degree nearer to the succession than Edward.* But the fact is, that neither Edward himself, nor any of his contemporaries, appear to have been influenced by the smallest presumption of the justice of his cause. A dispute having arisen respecting the nature of the homage due from the king of England to Philip for the duchy of Guienne, the former acknowledged, by the advice of his counsellors, that it ought to have been liege homage, and promised "faith, truth, and loyalty," accordingly. Robert of Artois, whom Philip had banished for attempting to support his claim to the county of Artois by forged documents, and who had been received with favour and distinction by Edward, appears to have been the chief instigator of the war, which was at last entered upon in the spirit of an ill-grounded lawsuit, for the sake of taking the chance of what might happen. The alliance of numerous powerful lords was obtained, partly by the artful excitement of private resentments, partly by the liberal distribution of "a round sum of florins," both among principals and accessories; for they were all, says Froissart, not only "very warlike," but "men who loved to gain wealth," and who, upon the strength of such inducements, readily agreed "to defy the king of France, and to go with the king of England, whenever and wherever he pleased." As to the share which the conduct of the French monarch had in provoking hostilities, it is the remark of a judicious

whatever his fate might be, in fear by his enemies, and in admiration by his friends." It might puzzle a philosopher to draw the line of distinction between the sentiments here described, and those which have insured the applause of posterity to many celebrated warriors. It may however be admitted, that the institution of Chivalry formed an intermediate step in the progress from barbarism to civilization. Let it also be granted that we are still but *in progress*, and that the principle of improvement which, during the Middle Ages, rendered war somewhat less ferocious than it had been at a preceding period, must, in its ultimate development, tend to the entire destruction of those prejudices by which war in every form is supported.

* Hallam's Middle Ages.

historian,* that Edward would probably not have undertaken the war but for existing disputes with Philip about Guienne, and had not that Prince unjustifiably abetted Robert Bruce, in Scotland. It may be added, that the throne of France itself had been originally acquired by the king's predecessor, Philip the Long, through a most notorious act of treachery,—and that to the discussions which ensued on that occasion, Edward, it is likely, owed the first suggestion of his present claims. Notwithstanding the successes of the English monarch in the commencement of the war, and the miseries which were inflicted upon France by the ravages of his arms, he was content, at the peace of Bretigni, in 1360, to renounce for ever all title to the French crown, as well as to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Lorraine, and Anjou, which had been possessed by his ancestors; and to receive in exchange the right of holding, in full sovereignty, the duchy of Guienne, and the lands he had conquered.† The contest was, however, revived in 1368, under the following circumstances. The Prince of Wales, having engaged in a war with Henry of Castile, attempted to defray the expenses thus incurred by the imposition of a hearth tax upon his newly acquired provinces of Gascony and Poitou. The inhabitants of Gascony, who always hated the English yoke, appealed against this exaction to Charles V. of France. That king immediately resumed his ceded rights as lord paramount, and attempted to justify his breach of faith by accusing the English of having, on their part, been guilty of infringing the treaty of Bretigni. It does not appear that there were any sufficient grounds for this charge;‡ but it was naturally to be expected

* Hallam.

† To these conditions, seemingly so disproportionate to his triumphs, he was induced to accede by the representations of the Duke of Lancaster, “that his claim of succession had not, from the first, procured him a single partizan in the kingdom, while the continuance of those destructive hostilities had united every Frenchman in the most implacable animosity against him; that the prolongation of the war, however it might enrich the English soldiers, was ruinous to the king himself, who bore all the charges of the armament without reaping any solid or durable advantage from it; and that if the present disorders of France continued, that kingdom would soon be reduced to such a state of desolation that it would afford no spoil to its ravagers.”—*Hume*.

‡ Such seems to be the opinion of most of our historians. Froissart's Narrative, however, may give rise to a diversity of sentiments respecting the exactness with which the English fulfilled their part of the treaty of Bretigni.

that the humiliation to which the French had been compelled to submit, would be endured only until they had recovered strength for a renewal of hostilities. The war, thus originating, outlived its authors, and when peace was at last concluded, in 1396, the English were compelled to acquiesce in the resumption, by the King of France, of a great part of the territory, and the most important fortresses, which had cost them so dearly during the preceding war.

But the evils of a struggle—provoked by bad faith on one side, and wanton ambition on the other—were not yet at an end. In 1415, the English demanded the full performance of the articles of the treaty of Bretigni; and, upon the refusal of the French, commenced that disastrous war, which, in its course, reduced France to the brink of destruction, and terminated, about 1430, in the impoverishment and accumulated disgrace of her rival. The proximate consequences of this contest were misery to the people, and mortification to the princes. England, perhaps, suffered least, from not being the scene of contention; but she was far from being totally exempted. The Scots, who were in alliance with France, took advantage of the absence of the English sovereign and his nobles, to harass the borders with perpetual incursions, destroying houses and churches, and frequently putting to death, without distinction of age or sex, every individual who fell into their hands.

The restless disposition which long habits of warfare had cherished among the nobility and gentry, was continually prompting them to wish for fresh military enterprises that might afford them an opportunity of repairing their losses, and may be ranked among the exasperating causes of the bloody factions by which England was afflicted during the reign of Henry the Sixth. "The very virtues which a state of hostility promotes," observes Hallam, in allusion to the atrocities that characterised the wars of this period, "are not proof against its long continuance, and sink at last into brutal fierceness. Those laws of war which the courteous sympathies of chivalry enjoined, were disregarded by a merciless fury. Garrisons surrendering after a brave defence were in numerous instances put to death. Henry the Fifth excepted Alain Blanchard, a citizen who had distinguished himself during the siege, from the capitulation of Rouen, and ordered him to execution; and at the taking of a town

in Champagne, John of Luxembourg, the Burgundian general, stipulated that every fourth and sixth man should be left to his discretion, which he exercised by causing them all to be hanged."

To France, the evils which attended her struggles with England were enormous. The country was throughout pillaged by bands of military ruffians, and desolated by insurrections of the peasantry of a most ferocious character. The latter appear to have been occasioned by a desire of revenging upon the gentry the spoliations sustained in consequence of the war. A famine of four years' continuance, in the course of which many of the poor died of hunger, augmented the distresses of the nation. The oppressive *gabelle*, or tax upon salt, which was first imposed under Philip the Long, was in 1355 renewed for the maintenance of the troops: heavy taxes upon income and property, from which no class of persons were exempted, were laid on at the same time. With a view to repress the disorders created by a state of protracted hostilities, Charles the Seventh first introduced the system of standing armies; and a still more important innovation, the imposition, by royal authority, of a permanent tax for their maintenance, was tacitly submitted to by the people, who were glad to purchase present relief and protection even at the expense of their most valuable privileges.*

In Spain, the spirit that animated the wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was considerably blended with that religious enthusiasm which consecrated every act of cruelty towards infidels. Ferdinand and Isabella triumphed in the success of their arms. The heroes of Granada, and the adventurers of the Atlantic Ocean, expelled the Moors from their seat in Europe, and nearly destroyed the simple inhabitants of the newly-found regions in the opposite hemisphere. But, to the forcible ejectment of the Moors may be traced the decline of the arts, manufactures, and agriculture in Spain; and the effects of her sanguinary rapacity in the West have been to paralyze industry, to depress the rising energies of the nation, and eventually to reduce her to a state of moral and political degradation which awakens the indignation or pity of all who are interested in her fate.

* For a brief view of the wars in which England has been engaged since the Revolution of 1688, see "An Examination of the Principles which are considered, to support the Practice of War."—Pp. 18—23.

On a general review of the wars of the middle ages, it will appear that the majority of them were undertaken from the most contemptible and worst motives imaginable. Sometimes in consequence of court intrigues, sometimes to find occupation for the savage and restless spirit of the barons, to whom they gave the means of supporting a larger number of followers at free quarters, and still more commonly for the purpose of enabling the ruling power to obtain the command of a military force, or to require extraordinary subsidies from the nation.*

The effects of this system on the Continent, where its operation was long unrestrained, were to degrade the condition of all ranks below the sovereign. The upper class, accustomed to follow their kings to the wars, were kept in a state of dependence and poverty, which was increased by the neglect that naturally took place during their absence from home in the management of their private concerns, and by the expense of living in courts or camps.

The enslaved and ignorant people bore all the privations and sufferings which are the usual concomitants of military enterprises; if they acquired habits of industry, these were quickly eradicated, either by ideas of glory or conquest, or by the apprehension of invasion. A flourishing middle class, in which the greatest proportion of intellect and happiness will generally be found, could scarcely be formed where perpetual wars not only checked all spirit of activity and commercial enterprise, but rendered the accumulation of property so insecure as to be scarcely worth obtaining.† The nature of that reaction, by which Providence so often defeats the designs of ambition with its own weapons, became however, sooner or later, visible in different parts of Europe; and the machinery of mischief, which had hitherto been wielded by the rulers of the earth to their own selfish purposes, at last recoiled, in many instances, upon the heads of its contrivers. The tyrannous dominion of the great nobles, which had had its basis in conquest, was finally shattered by the excesses of that military spirit through which it had been raised. The expensive wars undertaken by monarchs for the aggrandizement of their power, created the necessity for taxation. But taxation ultimately afforded a fulcrum of resistance to their authority, and even in England helped to give rise

* Mackinnon

† Ibid.

to the limitations of the royal prerogative. In France, the operation of this counteracting influence was, from various causes, longer delayed. But the extreme depression to which a long course of military policy had reduced the middle classes, contributed to augment the violence of the concussion. It came at last with the shock of an earthquake, and the unrighteous ambition with which kings and princes had for centuries laboured to build up the structure of their power, was visited in a moment with the accumulated retribution of ages !

Towards the close of the fifteenth century the warlike illusions of chivalry, and the continual hostilities connected with the feudal system, began to disappear before the advancement of science and art. As the political relations of Europe became more complicated, war was no longer the transitory ebullition of private passions, openly aiming to enhance the wealth or fame of an individual. But its essential character remained the same, under all the various modifications which the progress of society had imposed. Whether disguised beneath the mask of religion, patriotism, or policy, selfishness was still the predominant motive. The conquests of Charles the Fifth,—the wars of the League,—the vain and destructive struggles for the balance of power,—these originating in a narrow and exclusive system of commerce,—the bare-faced depredations of the *Great Frederick*, and *Catharine*,—the mightier contests of our own day,—all these open a wide field for investigation, which is calculated to yield results the more important, as by an approximation to present times we obtain a more accurate knowledge of details, and conclusions more immediately applicable to the modern state of the world. But the consideration of these later periods does not fall within the limits of the present essay.

The greater part of the wars which have now passed under our notice need little comment, either as to the character of their origin, or the evil tendencies of their results, in the first place to the weaker party, but eventually to the prime authors of the mischief. In endeavouring to estimate the favourable or unfavourable influence of those wars which have been undertaken for the cause of liberty, it will have been observed that the sin of aggression is in most cases much more equally divided than is commonly supposed ; and that were even one party perfectly just, it is not unreasonable to infer that both might remain at peace. The most promising scions of freedom have in fact

sprung from the successful pursuit of industry. The liberties of Greece and Rome were not begun—but hazarded and finally lost by their military achievements. After the downfall of the Roman empire, the earliest symptoms of a free government and advancing civilization in Europe were displayed, not among warlike nations, but in commercial towns, which, from the effects of industry, (partially checked indeed by occasional wars, but always flourishing most in seasons of tranquillity) were induced and enabled to purchase their privileges from whatever power claimed the right to grant them.* It must be remarked that these blessings have been best maintained by a union of forbearance and moral resistance ;—that where violence has been resorted to, the progress of liberty has been generally impeded, and ambition supplied with the required pretext for aggression ; and that war, even when comparatively defensive,—for it will be difficult to find that which is strictly so,—always contains in itself the germs of that domineering spirit which is by its very nature, as it has invariably proved by the event, the destroyer of freedom. In what does the internal security of rational and permanent liberty consist ? In the strength of an enlightened public opinion. Where this requisite does not exist, liberal institutions, however excellent in themselves, can never find an adequate basis to rest upon ; and the attempt to impose them by force will generally terminate in aggravated slavery. True liberty is the result, not the cause, of the diffusion of information, civilization, and moral principle throughout a community ; and where this diffusion is gradually taking place, the principles of a free government will necessarily spring up, and despotism must fall by its own weight. Now these blessings are mainly dependent upon the extension and prosperity of the middle classes of society, resulting from the improvement of commerce and manufactures,—in fact, of all those branches of industry which are emphatically termed the *arts of Peace*,† and which can only be prosecuted with lasting advantage when free from the vexatious restraints and burdensome taxes required by a state of hostilities. In proportion, therefore, to the cultivation of pacific principles, will the cause of liberty and civilization be promoted

* See Mackinnon—to whose valuable work on Public Opinion the writer of the present Essay is indebted for the basis of many of these concluding observations.

† Mackinnon.

throughout the world; and wherever the remnants of barbarism so far predominate over the dictates of a sound sense and justice as to provoke to war, the diffusion of these benefits will be in a corresponding degree retarded. As the operation of cause and effect is in most instances reciprocal, it may be expected that wherever enlightened sentiments obtain the ascendancy in a country, that part of the community which will possess increasing influence in the management of public affairs will be led to perceive the improbability that the most brilliant success can make amends to the nation for the load of taxation, the interruption to commerce, the loss of blood and treasure, that must be incurred by war.*

There remains, therefore, to the devoted admirer of liberty a field for exertions more glorious than that on which heroes and conquerors and self-styled patriots of former ages have reaped their bloody harvest of renown. "He who, by the teaching of uncorrupted Christianity, by the enlightenment of public opinion, by the zealous diffusion of magnanimous and purifying sentiments, contributes to raise the spirit of the enslaved, to awaken the desire of knowledge in the ignorant, to arouse the love of liberty"† in the degraded, does more to promote the permanent well-being of his species than if, sword in hand, he had overturned the thrones of the mightiest despots on the face of the earth.

* Mackinnon.

† Channing—On the Life of Napoleon.

FINIS.

*Tract No. XI. of the Society for the Promotion of
Permanent and Universal Peace.*

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

CALAMITIES OF WAR,

AND THE

SUPERIOR POLICY OF PEACE:

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

OF

A TREATISE "ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE FINANCES
OF FRANCE,"

Jacques
BY M. [^]NECKER.

STEREOTYPE EDITION.

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INTRODUCTION.

As War, whatever form it may assume, and by whatever name it may be called, is prohibited by the letter and spirit of the Gospel, so the prosecution of it has been the scourge and curse of mankind. The Committee of the Peace Society, in the tracts they have published, have proved the contrariety of all War to the moral precepts of Christianity. They have exhibited in their publications the crimes and miseries which War originates, and the permanent distress it inflicts on the community at large. An exposure of the disappointment, the disquietude, anxiety and secret remorse, it visits on the prime instigators and agents of this direst plague of the human race, was only wanting to complete the argument. In the "Historical Illustrations, &c."* just published, and in the following Reflections of M. Necker on War, the reader will find this concluding argument graphically exhibited; and if Kings and Governments would wisely take for their guide the excellent Reflections of M. Necker, instead of the mistaken notions of ambition, aggrandizement, and revenge, they would find that the most stable basis upon which they could build their glory and future fame, is the cultivation of pacific relations with each other, by which they would bring down upon them the blessings of their subjects for the

* "Historical Illustrations of the Origin and Consequences of War," being No. X. of the Series of the Tracts of the Peace Society.

prosperity and happiness that would, in consequence, be diffused throughout their respective dominions.

Such is the object of this republication of the 34th and 35th chapters of M. Necker's work, "On the Administration of the Finances of France." In justice to the author, the Committee of the Peace Society have given the two chapters entire: such opinions, therefore, as may appear to trench upon their belief of the unlawfulness of all war, do not, by this republication, receive their sanction.

June, 1831.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

CALAMITIES OF WAR.

WITH what impatience have I wished to discuss this subject ! How irresistibly has my heart been led to expatiate on the evils which are ever attendant on this terrible calamity ! War, alas ! impedes the course of every salutary plan, exhausts the sources of prosperity, and diverts the attention of governors from the happiness of nations. It even suspends, sometimes, every idea of justice and humanity. In a word, instead of gentle and benevolent feelings, it substitutes hostility and hatred, the necessity of oppression, and the rage of desolation.

The first idea that occurs to me, when I reflect on the origin of most wars, is, that those great combinations of politics which have so often kindled the torch of discord, and occasioned so many ravages, have very seldom merited all the admiration that has been so lavishly bestowed upon them. At least I might venture to say, that when a state is arrived at an illustrious height of power, it is owing to the want of a comprehension sufficiently extensive, and to an incompetent knowledge of its resources, that continual anxieties are entertained, and the duration of the public tranquillity made to depend on such a variety of uncertain speculations. I might even venture to observe, moreover, that in such nations it is a

real misfortune for the people, when, by a kind of imitative spirit, their government has been accustomed to contemplate the strength of states in those exterior connexions only, the texture and combination of which form what is called *political science*. Then the most subtle ideas concerning the balance of power become the predominant principles, and incessantly engross the attention. Hence arise those frequent wars of competition, of which the first renders a second more probable; for in proportion as a state has been weakened by a war, it is so much the more apt to become jealous again; because the sensations of jealousy are excited only by comparison; and, in a course of years, it is sometimes one power, and sometimes another, that attracts political observation. Thus the history of all ages exhibits nations incessantly endeavouring to reduce each other to the same state of humiliation to which they had themselves been reduced by their own political mistakes. On the contrary, were every state to be sparing of its strength, to cultivate a proper knowledge of its resources, and to render them respectable by a wise administration, it would arrive, without effort, to that height of superiority it is so anxious to attain.

I must likewise observe, that this kind of superiority is the only one of which the relative consequences, if I may so express myself, are universal. The triumphs of war exalt you, no doubt, above the nation you may conquer; but as these triumphs commonly require long efforts and great sacrifices, the exhausted state resulting thence, necessarily alters the proportion which existed between your strength and that of the great powers who were not engaged in your quarrel, and whose prosperity increased under the protection of that peace which they enjoyed.

In a word, it cannot be denied, that the height of greatness to which a nation may arrive by the wisdom of its administration, is the most commanding, and the most conducive to secure the respect of other nations. These are much more jealous of the most insignificant acquisitions which are proposed to be gained by war or negotiation, than of that augmentation of greatness of which order is the foundation. And this sentiment is natural; for that prosperity which originates in the wise conduct of a sovereign, renders his virtues also more conspicuous: exhibiting them, at the same time, as a security against any abuse which he might make of his augmented power.

Of late years, it has been for the sake of commerce in particular that such scenes of bloodshed have been recorded. Commerce, that loose and indeterminate idea, adds new lustre to political speculations ; and the public opinion, excited by a word that indicates an universal interest, is often misled itself in its decisions. I would fain ask those, who, from such motives, are ever ready to be the advocates for war, “ Do you know the balance of the commerce of your country ? Have you studied its elements ? Have you sufficiently examined whether the trade, in which you desire to participate, will increase the national opulence ? Do you well discern the causes and consequences of that opulence ? Have you balanced the advantages you expect from war, against the injuries which commerce will sustain from the augmented rate of interest, occasioned by the multiplication of the government loans, and the dearness of labour, which is a necessary consequence of the increase of taxes ? Are you certain, that while you endeavour to obtain a new branch of commerce by the sword, you may not lose another, either through that deference which you will be obliged to pay to your ancient allies, or those concessions that your new ones may require ? In a word, are you sufficiently acquainted with the whole extent of your present prosperity ; and have you formed an estimate of all the sacrifices which the very end of your ambition may deserve ? Nothing is more simple than the word commerce in its vulgar acceptation ; nothing more complicated when it is applied to the universality of exchanges, to the importance of some, the inutility of others, the disadvantage of many ; to political views in short ; to labour, taxes, and all the unexpected combinations which war and great events produce. Deliberate and deep reflection is necessary, then, before we determine to kindle the flames of a war for a commercial advantage. And it ought never to be forgotten, that in time of peace, a diminution of certain duties, a bounty on some exportations, a privilege obtained from some foreign nations, and many other advantages resulting from a wise administration, are often of far greater value than the object which is proposed to be gained by fleets and armies.

Nations, in their savage state, were actuated by blind and unruly passions ; and these passions have been softened in some measure by the effect of civilization. But the multiplicity and confusion of different interests, which the ideas of money, commerce, national riches,

and the balance of power, have introduced, have become other causes of hostility and jealousy ; and as the science of government has not improved in proportion to the contradictions it had to reconcile, and the difficulties it had to overcome, mankind still enjoy but imperfectly the change in their condition.

I would here submit to reflection, a consideration, with which I have ever been forcibly struck. Most governments appear satisfied, if at the conclusion of a bloody and expensive war, they have made an honourable peace. Undoubtedly such a termination may satisfy a state, which having been unjustly attacked, was reduced to the necessity of repelling force by force. But that nation which might have avoided the enmity of other powers by more circumspect proceedings, and that also which has undertaken a war from mere political speculations, cannot be ignorant, that an estimate of the advantages which they derive from the treaty of peace, is not the only calculation worthy of their attention. Each has also to consider what would have been its situation at the period when the treaty was concluded, if war had not interrupted the course of its prosperity.

Such comparisons might have been often useful to all the potentates in Europe ; and England in particular, might have received the most important instructions from them : but, as it is not in my power to enter into such an extensive detail, I shall confine myself to such reflections as are applicable to France.

Let us suppose a war in which this kingdom should be obliged to alienate from fifty to sixty millions of its annual revenue, (from 2,187,500*l.* to 2,625,000*l.* sterling) in order to pay the interest of the loans, which the preparations for war, the expenses of each campaign, and the liquidation of debts, had rendered necessary ; and let us next take a cursory view of the different uses to which government might have applied such a revenue, not only for the advancement of the national happiness, but for the augmentation of the military force.

The distribution which I am going to make of this revenue does not indicate my absolute opinion on the subject. But in a calculation of this kind I would anticipate objections, by showing how the different wishes that are formed in a monarchy, with respect either to happiness or power, might have been perfectly accomplished.

In the first place I find, that with eighteen millions (787,500*l.* sterling) of that annual revenue, the regimental companies might have

been completed to their full complement, and the army augmented by 50,000 infantry, and ten or twelve thousand horse.

I find, in the next place, that two millions of that revenue, (87,500*l.* sterling) which in time of peace would pay the interest of a loan of forty millions, (1,750,000*l.* sterling) would have added to our navy thirty men of war, and a proportionate number of frigates; and this augmentation might have been maintained by four millions yearly (175,000*l.*)—Thus we see twenty-four millions (1,050,000*l.* sterling) of that revenue devoted solely to the military service.

Let us now apply the surplus to the various parts of administration, and let us consider the result.

With eighteen millions (787,500*l.* sterling) yearly, the price of salt might have been rendered uniform throughout the kingdom, by reducing it one-third in the provinces of little gabels,* and two-thirds in those of the great, and not increasing the charges of the privileged provinces.

With from four to five millions (from 175,000*l.* to 218,750*l.* sterling) annually, the interior parts of the kingdom might have been freed from all custom-house duties, without raising those levied on the exports and imports of the kingdom, or carrying to account the improvements I suggested when treating on this subject.

With 2,500,000 livres, (109,375*l.* sterling) serving to pay the interest of successive loans to the amount of fifty millions, (2,187,500*l.* sterling) all the necessary canals might have been executed, that are still wanting in the kingdom.

With one million more per annum, (43,750*l.* sterling) government might be enabled to bestow sufficient encouragement on all the establishments of industry that can advance the prosperity of France.

With 1,500,000 livres (65,625*l.* sterling,) the sums annually destined to give employment to the poor might be doubled; and while great advantages would thus accrue to the inhabitants of the country, the neighbouring communications might be multiplied.

With the same sum, the prisons throughout the kingdom might in a few years be improved, and all the charitable institutions brought to perfection.

And with 2,000,000 annually, (87,500*l.* sterling) the clearing of the waste lands might proceed with incredible vigour.

* The gabel is an excise on salt

These distributions amount to thirty-one millions, (1,356,250*l.* sterling) which, joined to twenty-four millions (1,050,000*l.* sterling) for military expenses, make together the annual revenue of fifty-five millions employed as above (2,406,250*l.* sterling) a sum equal to that which I have supposed to be alienated for the disbursements of the war.

The distributions which I have thus suggested, it is evident, may be modified in many different manners ; but it is sufficient to perceive the immense advantages which this simple statement exhibits, whether with respect to the strength and prosperity of the kingdom, or for the assistance and solace of the indigent class of people.

This is not all : for if we estimate the diminution of commerce which results from a war of five or six years' duration, it will be found that the kingdom is deprived of a considerable increase of riches.

In fine, war, and the loans which it occasions, create a very sensible rise in the rate of interest. On the contrary, peace, under a wise administration, would lower it annually, were it only in consequence of the increase of specie, and of the influence of the stated reimbursements. This successive reduction of interest is likewise a source of inestimable advantages to commerce, agriculture, and the finances.

Let these effects be now compared with the advantages which a fortunate war (and all wars are not so) would give to a kingdom arrived at that height of prosperity by which France is now distinguished ; and let this comparison be made, not in a desultory manner, but by the aid of reflection and science, and it will be found, for the most part, that ten seeds have been sown, in order to gather the fruit of one.

Undoubtedly, with so many powerful means, a government may expect, with great probability, to humble its rivals, and extend its dominions. But, to employ its resources for the happiness of its subjects ; to command respect without the assistance and dangers of an ever restless policy ; this is a conduct, which alone can correspond to the greatness of its situation ; and which displays at once a knowledge of its ascendancy and of the advantages to be derived from it. By such a conduct a government imitates those beneficent rivers, whose rapid current cannot be impeded, but which, in their majestic course, encourage navigation, facilitate commerce, and fertilize the country without injury and devastation.

It is not war, but a wise and pacific administration, that can procure all the advantages of which France may be yet in want.

The quantity of specie in the kingdom is immense ; but the want of public confidence very often occasions the greaterpart of it to be hoarded up.

The population of the kingdom is immense ; but the excess and nature of the taxes impoverish and dishearten the inhabitants of the country. In a state of misery the human species is weakened, and the number of children who die before their strength can be matured, is no longer in a natural proportion.

The revenue of the sovereign is immense ; but the public debt consumes two-fifths of it ; and nothing can diminish this burthen but the fruits of a prudent economy, and the lowering of the rate of interest.

The contributions of the nation, in particular, are immense ; but it is only by the strengthening of public credit, that government can succeed in finding sufficient resources in extraordinary emergencies.

Finally, the balance of commerce in favour of the kingdom is an immense source of riches ; but war interrupts the current. Hence results an important reflection ; namely, that the nation which derives the most considerable advantages from peace, makes also the greatest sacrifices, whenever it renounces that state of quiet and prosperity.

What, then, would be the case, if, which cannot be avoided, we join to all these considerations, the affecting representations of the calamities inseparable from war ? How would it appear were we to endeavour to form an estimate of the lives and sufferings of men ? And as the speculations of the understanding are uncertain, and mere reasoning is deficient often in that energy which is peculiar to the affections, we cannot too ardently wish, that the ministers of kings may possess that deep sense of humanity which animates every thought. Then, an examination into the motives that may determine the commencement of a war, will appear to be the most serious of all deliberations : a sensible emotion will then affect all those who may be summoned to this discussion : and, in the midst of a council, in which endeavours might be used to influence the opinion of the sovereign, the most upright of his servants might perhaps have the courage to address him in this language :—

“ Sire,

“ War is the source of so many evils, it is so terrible a scourge, that a gracious and discerning Prince ought never to undertake it but

from motives of justice that are indisputable; and it behoves the greatest monarch in the world to give that example of the morality of kings, which assures the happiness of humanity, and the tranquillity of nations. Do not give way, Sire, to vain anxieties, nor to uncertain expectations. Ah! what have you to fear, and what can excite your jealousy? You reign over 26,000,000 of men. Providence, with a bountiful hand, has diffused the choicest blessings through your empire, by multiplying the productions of every kind. Your kingdom acquires as much specie every year as all the rest of Europe collectively taken. You enjoy immense revenues; and the prudent distribution of them may enable you constantly to maintain fleets and armies capable of commanding respect from the nations envious of your power. The war to which you are advised, will cost you, perhaps, eight or nine hundred millions (from 35,000,000*l.* to 39,375,000*l.* sterling); and were even victory every where to follow your arms, you will devote to death, or to cruel sufferings, so great a number of your subjects, that were any one, who could read futurity, to present you this moment with the list, you would start back with horror. Nor is this yet all: your people, who have scarcely had a respite, you are going to crush with new taxes. You are going to slacken the activity of commerce and manufactures, those inestimable sources of industry and wealth; and, in order to procure soldiers and seamen, the men accustomed to the cultivation of the earth will be forced from the interior provinces, and a hundred thousand families, perhaps, will be deprived of the hands that support them. And when crowned by the most splendid success, after so many evils, after so many calamities, what may you perhaps obtain? An unsteady ally, uncertain gratitude, an island more than two thousand leagues from your empire, or some new subjects in another hemisphere. Alas! you are invited to nobler conquests. Turn your eyes to the interior parts of your kingdom. Consider what communications and canals may still be wanting. Behold those pestilential marshes that ought to be drained, and those deserted lands which would be cultivated on the first tender of support from government. Behold that part of your people whom a diminution of taxes would excite to new undertakings. Look, more especially, on that other truly wretched class, who stand in immediate need of succour in order to support the misery of their situation. In the mean time, in

order to effectuate so many benefits, a small part of the revenues which you are going to consume in the war to which you are advised, would perhaps be sufficient. Are not the numerous inhabitants of your extensive dominions sufficient to engage your paternal love? And, if I may be allowed to say it, is not their happiness equal to the greatest extent of good which it is in the power of a single man to perform? But if you are desirous of new subjects, you may acquire them without the effusion of blood, or the triumphs of a battle; for they will spring up in every part of your empire, fostered by the beneficent means that are in your hands. A good government multiplies men as the morning dews of the spring unfold the buds of plants. Before you seek, therefore, beyond the ocean, for those new subjects which are unknown to you, reflect that, in order to acquire them, you are going to sacrifice a greater number of those who love you, whom you love, whose fidelity you have experienced, and whose happiness is committed to your protection. What personal motive can then determine you to war? Is it the splendour of victories for which you hope? Is it the ambition of a greater name in the annals of mankind? But is renown then confined to bloodshed and devastation? And is that which a monarch obtains, by diffusing ease and happiness throughout his dominions, unworthy of consideration? Titus reigned only three years; and his name, transmitted from age to age, by the love of nations, is still introduced, in our days, in all the eulogies of princes.

“Do not doubt it, Sire, a wise administration is of more value to you than the most refined political system; and if, to such resources, you unite that empire over other nations which is acquired by a transcendent character of justice and moderation, you will enjoy at once the greatest glory, and the most formidable power. Ah! Sire, exhibit this magnificent spectacle to the world; and then, if triumphal arches be wanting, make the tour of your provinces; and, preceded by all the good you have diffused, appear surrounded by the blessings of your people, and the ecstatic acclamations of a grateful nation, made happy by its sovereign.”

Such is nearly the language of an honest minister, impressed with a deep sense of the various duties of his station. I cannot believe that such reflections would be foreign to political deliberations. At first, they would be thought extraordinary, and the minister who were to

argue thus would not be allowed the views of an enlightened statesman. But as Reason also has her dignity and ascendancy, the minister who should acknowledge her authority, and who, devoid alike of fear and of every selfish view, should dare to advance great truths, might perhaps force his way through prejudice, or habitual ideas. Ideas of this kind, I confess, have a most extensive influence, and sometimes possess the mind to such a degree, that we become strangers to the most natural sentiments. I cannot remember without shuddering, to have seen the following statement, in an estimate of the money requisite for the exigences of war :

Forty thousand men to be embarked for the colonies 40,000

To be deducted one-third for the first year's mortality 13,333

Remainder 26,667

A clerk in office makes his calculation in cool blood. A minister, on the perusal, has seldom any other idea than of the expense, and turns with unconcern to the next leaf, to examine the result of the whole.

How can one here refrain from indulging very melancholy sensations ? Alas ! if by any law of nature unknown to me, mankind deserved so much indifference, I should be very wrong to write, and to be so earnestly solicitous for their welfare. I should be myself but a vile heap of dust, which the wind of life agitates for a moment. But I entertain a more exalted idea of our existence, and of the spirit that informs it. I entertain a more exalted idea of the relative impressions stamped by a divine hand, and which connect us all with each other.

Citizens, it is observed, are indebted to their country. Undoubtedly : but it is government which regulates this debt ; and, therefore, the sacrifices which it requires are just or unjust, supportable or dreadful, according to the wisdom of its deliberations.

Mankind, and the apologists for war, have, in every age, been accustomed to it. Certainly ; and in every age also have storms destroyed the harvests : the pestilence has spread around its envenomed breath ; intolerance has sacrificed her victims ; and crimes of every kind have desolated the earth. But Reason also has obstinately fought against Folly ; Morality against Vice ; Art against Disease ; and the industry of mankind against the rigour of bad seasons. That barbarous

nations, condemned to want and wretchedness by their ignorance have been impelled to seek countries in which the progress of the arts, and a variety of riches, promised them unknown advantages, is not to be wondered at; the motives for this invasion may be conceived, whenever, by consent, the authority of reason and humanity is discarded. But in our times, when the general perfection of industry, and the knowledge of commerce have rendered the enjoyments of mankind more equal, wars seem to depend rather upon the particular ambition of Princes, and the restless spirit of their councils.

But I hear it stated as a last objection that men delight in hazards, and often seek them of their own accord. I allow it; and many, in the career of danger, acquire distinguished affluence and honours. But those who have no other compensation for their blood than the most indispensable subsistence, if they are not enlisted in the service by force, nor retained in it by discipline, are actuated by a sentiment defined by example and opinion. But admitting that some men have voluntarily placed themselves in a situation which they know to be exposed to calamities, will the nature of these calamities be changed by that consideration? The ignorance of the vulgar is a protracted minority; and in every situation in which they may be impelled by circumstances, neither their first choice, nor their first impulse, is to be considered in this argument. We must study their sentiments in those moments when, distracted by a thousand excruciating pains, yet still lingering in existence, they are carried off in heaps from the fatal field in which they have been mowed down by the enemy: we must study their sentiments in those noisome hospitals in which they are crowded together, and where the sufferings they endure, to preserve a languishing existence, so forcibly prove the value they set upon the preservation of their lives, and the greatness of the sacrifice to which they had been exposed: we ought also to study their sentiments in those moments in which, perhaps, to such a variety of woe, is added the bitter remembrance of that momentary error, which has led them to such misery: we ought, more especially, to study their sentiments on board those ships on fire, in which there is but a moment between them and the most cruel death; and on those ramparts where subterraneous explosion announces, that in an instant they are to be buried under a tremendous heap of stones and rubbish. But the earth has covered them, the sea has swallowed them up, and

we think of them no more. Their voice, extinguished for ever, can no longer arraign the calamities of war. What unfeeling survivors are we! While we walk over mutilated bodies and shattered bones, we exult in the glory and honours of which we alone are the heirs.

Let me not be reproached with having dwelt too long on these melancholy representations. We cannot exhibit them too often; so much are we accustomed, in the very midst of society, to behold nothing in war and all its attendant horrors, but an honourable employment for the courage of aspiring youth, and the school in which the talents of great officers are unfolded; and such is the effect of this transient intoxication, that the conversation of the polite circles in the capital is often taken for the general wish of the nation. Oh! ye governors, do not suffer yourselves to be deceived by this mistaken voice. They, whose impulse you are so ready to follow, will be astonished soon at your condescension; so shallow are their sentiments, and so little conformable, especially to their real interest! To men of an indolent turn, events, and novelty in course, are necessary. After a long peace, they are impatient for the tumult of war, as we sometimes see the shepherds of the mountains, tired with the uniformity of the scene, long for a storm or tempest, that agitated nature may exhibit a new spectacle to their eyes.

Nor should it be forgotten, that in the midst of the bustle of society, the mind is set in motion by simple ideas only; not having leisure to enter into any deliberate discussions. Thus the hopes of success, the splendour of a victory, and the humbling of a nation, of whose greatness we are jealous, these are the ideas that are seized with avidity; but the magnitude of the expense, the happy and productive uses to which that expense might have been applied, and alas! must it be repeated? the death and destruction of those men, whose funeral processions we do not behold; all those different considerations which are necessarily connected with each other, are almost constantly disregarded, or the impression which they leave is at least too fugitive.

It is the duty, therefore, of superior minds, whose reflections are more enlarged and comprehensive, and who are guided by those two great lights, thought and sensibility; it is their duty to offer, to defend, to animate, if possible, those rational ideas that are propitious to mankind. It is their duty to draw those ideas from that obscurity in which they are involved, in order to invest them with their due

splendour and ascendancy. Nor is it less their duty, to avoid being dazzled by the illusions of false glory, that they may reserve their first homage for those general and beneficent virtues that, before all and above all, are the tutelar genii of nations. For my part, far from regretting that I have opposed, to the best of my abilities, those chimeras that are subversive of the happiness of mankind, and of the true greatness of states ; far from being apprehensive that I have displayed too much zeal for truths that are repugnant to so many passions and prepossessions ; I believe these truths to be so useful, so essential, and so perfectly just ; in a word, I am so deeply affected by them, that after having supported them by my feeble voice in the course of my administration, and endeavoured even from my retirement to diffuse them wide, I could wish that the last drop of my blood were employed to trace them on the minds of all.

And you, more especially, I invite to enforce those principles who are peculiarly bound to do it, from the sacred character of your order, and the rank you occupy in the church. Never forget that you are ministers of peace ; and when you are bestowing your benediction on the banners, when you are consecrating victories and trophies, let your heart be sensible above all to the miseries of mankind, and let your eloquence recal them to the consciences of kings. Leave to the world and its historians the care of celebrating the heroes of death and vengeance ; for in the tumult of destructive passions, pity sits best on you. Endeavour to make the sovereign beloved for his virtues, and his ministers for their wisdom ; but never adopt the language of courtiers, when you speak in the name of Him, before whom all the potentates of the earth are nothing.

The subject which I am now discussing is of importance to every nation ; and it cannot be observed without pain, that war is not the only cause that multiplies the calamities of mankind. Another cause may be traced to that genius, absolutely military, which is sometimes the effect and sometimes the harbinger of war. Several States are already converted, as it were, into a vast body of barracks ; and the successive augmentation of disciplined armies increases taxes, fear, and slavery, in the same proportion. In short, by an unfortunate reaction, the excessive expenses which are occasioned by this unnatural situation, excite the desire to render them productive by conquests ; and in proportion as sovereigns succeed in extending their dominions,

despotism becomes more necessary to them ; and one day, its influence will not be thought sufficiently rapid to connect so many parts together. Princes, then, may consider reflection as incompatible with their views ; and actuated, perhaps, by an ambition, similar to that of mechanicians and machinists, their ultimate aim may be to discover some secret, in order to stop or put in motion, by a single spring, all the wishes of their subjects. What a degradation of human nature ! What a sacrifice offered to the ambition of an individual ! These ideas, indeed, are less obvious, when in such monarchies, as is the case at present, there are several sovereigns endued with a superior spirit, and who, being often agitated by different sentiments, would reconcile the national genius from which they derive a personal satisfaction, with the military principles that are suitable to their politics ; but men pass away ; and with them sometimes vanish all the alleviations which resulted from their character.

The spirit of the reflections which I have hitherto made, is not applicable only to the nations whose interests are regulated by the pleasure of an individual. I address myself equally to you Great Nation,* to whom the spirit of liberty communicates all its force. Let the energy of your soul, let that abundance, or that *community* of knowledge which results from it, lead you to those sentiments of political humanity, which are so well connected with elevated thoughts. Be not influenced by a blind avidity for riches, by the pride of confidence, or a perpetual jealousy of others. And since the waves of the ocean free you from the imperious yoke of disciplined armies, recollect, that your first attention is due to the preservation of that precious government you enjoy. Tremble, lest you one day become indifferent to it, if from the excessive taxes which war accumulates, you expose to the dreadful conflicts of private interest, that public and patriotic sentiment which has so long been the source of your greatness and your felicity. In a word, as in every country, when the temporary reign of particular passions is over, men cast an eye on that depository of the rights of men and citizens of which you are still the guardians, recollect that you are accountable to all mankind for that liberty, the last remains of which you preserve ; that if, in one part of the world, its traces are soon effaced, the type and remembrance of it may still be found somewhere.

* Great Britain.

And may you, young and rising Nation,* whose generous efforts have released you from your European yoke, make the rights you have acquired still more respected by the world, by employing yourselves constantly in promoting the public happiness. Sacrifice it not to vague notions of policy, and the deceptive calculations of warlike ambition; avoid, or at least keep as much as possible aloof from the passions which agitate our hemisphere. Derive from our decayed institutions only the lessons of experience, and long may you preserve the simplicity of the primitive ages! Finally, do honour to human nature, by showing that if left to its own energies, it is still capable of those virtues which support order, and of that wisdom which insures tranquillity.

What more can be said? Here I should stop, for my feeble voice is altogether unequal to the dignity of so important a subject; nevertheless, I venture once more to solicit a moment's attention. It is in considerations of public good and just conceptions of true power, that I have hitherto sought motives to deter sovereigns from the spirit of war and of jealousy; but I should imperfectly perform the task which I have undertaken, if I did not endeavour to interest them in truths, the defence of which I have undertaken, by urging on them the close connexion of these truths with their personal happiness; and the following reflections are devoted to the accomplishment of this duty.

Kings are soon weary of amusements and vanities; pleasures anticipate their wishes, and long before other men they experience satiety. Born in the midst of the pomp of courts and of the abject veneration of those by whom they are surrounded; accustomed from infancy to the splendour of a throne, the brilliant displays of royalty make no impression on them; they continually require new objects to interest them or to divert their attention, and to deliver them from the ennui which preys upon them. Some have built palaces and pyramids to resuscitate in them the dormant ideas of their grandeur; the ambition of others has increased their dominions without feeling the least compunction at sacrificing the life and property of their subjects, only to add some leagues of land to 20 or 30,000 which they already possess, without its contributing to their happiness; a still

* United States of America.

greater number, indifferent to every body else, consume their reign in effeminacy and inactivity :—those are, without doubt, the most happy who, endowed with elevated and susceptible minds, have experienced the pleasures to be derived from public beneficence. It is only in the exercise of this virtue that a king can find a satisfaction always new and delightful—the objects it embraces are so extended, so diversified, that the pleasures it gives, though unwearied, are never exhausted, and he soon feels a predilection for the ideas of order and duty which instil into him new energies. Thus, while false glory constantly leans for support on the praise of men, and only enjoys itself in the midst of shouts and acclamations, public beneficence infuses every day, yea, every moment, consolations into the hearts of those who are fully imbued with its spirit : these are, if we may so say, benefits independent of accidents ; neither time, nor men, nor ingratitude, can deprive us of them.

How much has ambition, however dazzling and renowned, even that of victories and conquests, disquietude and remorse for its attendants ! In the midst of battles and of ruins,—in the midst of heaps of cinders, when the flames have destroyed flourishing cities,—from the graves of that field where whole armies are buried, without doubt a name is raised and commemorated in history, even that of a sovereign who to satiate his thirst for glory, has commanded these ravages, has willed these desolations. We of the present day may compare them to those extinguished volcanoes which have vomited forth fire, brimstone, and bitumen, the remembrance of which sometimes excites our astonishment ; but the dreadful traces of desolation which mark the progress of a warlike and victorious prince leave no evidence of his enjoyment. I will depict to myself this prince in the zenith of his glory and of his triumphs, and at this moment imagine him, after he has been listening to the flatteries of his courtiers, and feels, as it were, intoxicated with their praises, when he enters into his closet alone, holding in his hand the details of all the horrors of a battle : he reads attentively the recital, not as a mere curious inquirer, who, having nothing to reproach himself with, calmly takes a view of the events, but as the author of such an accumulation of wrongs, and of which there is not one, perhaps, for which in the inmost recesses of his soul, his conscience does not reproach him : he is at the same time on the point of giving orders for a fresh effusion of blood—of increasing

the weight of the taxes—of aggravating the misfortunes of his people—of laying his conquering arm heavily on them. What distressing reflections must present themselves to him, what gloomy thoughts must assail him ! At this moment he would fain recal the crowd that had surrounded him. “Return,” he would spontaneously exclaim, “return, and repeat to me all that has even now intoxicated me ; alas ! you are afar off, and I find myself in a frightful desert,—in solitude ; I no longer discover the traces of my former sentiments, the light which dazzled me is extinguished, my joy is departed, and my glory vanished !” Such is nearly the train of reflections that would present themselves to the monarch when alone ; in the mean time night comes on, darkness and silence cover the earth, peace appears to reign every where except in his breast ; the plaintive cries of the dying, the tears of ruined families, the various evils of which he is the author, present themselves to his view and disturb his imagination—altogether restless, every thing keeps him in a state of indecision, a dream—the noise of the wind—a clap of thunder, are sometimes sufficient to agitate him, and remind him of his own insignificance. “Who am I,” he is impelled to say, “who am I, that I should command so many ravages, and cause so many tears to flow ? Born to be the benefactor, I am the scourge of mankind. Is this the use to which I should appropriate the treasures which are at my disposal, and that I should make of the power with which I am intrusted ? Either there is no order, design, nor cause, in the universe, and morality is a mere fiction, or I shall have hereafter to deliver up an account, and what will this account be ?” It is then in vain for him to attempt to prop up his pride and to exculpate himself in his own eyes, by presenting to the Supreme Being his successes and his triumphs ; he feels, as it were, an invisible hand which repulses him, and which seems to refuse to acknowledge him. Disturbed with these cogitations, he endeavours, at last, to bury in sleep the moments which thus annoy him, impatient for the dawn of day, for the splendour of the court, and the concourse of his servants, to dissipate his anguish, and to restore to him his illusions.

Ah ! what a different picture does the life of a beneficent king present to us ! We pass from nights of storm and tempest to days pure and serene, in which the tranquillity of nature incites in every being the charm of existence and the sense of happiness. A beneficent king finds in the inclination of his soul a continual source of pleasing

sensations, and in his intellectual employments he finds objects always interesting. There is nothing in nature, nothing in the order of society indifferent to him, because every thing is more or less connected with the destinies of men, and with that felicity of which they are capable of partaking. In drawing nearer to them, through his love of them, and his consideration for their good, he displays none of that haughty pride, in which originates the great distance that too usually exists between princes and their subjects, and which isolates them, as it were, from mankind ; but it is a most animated and exalted sentiment, which takes cognizance of every thing that can promote the general happiness. Lastly, by learning in good time to abstract his thoughts from self, and to occupy them with the good of others, the beneficent king prolongs his pleasures ; and old age, satiety, and weariness of spirit, which usually quench the energies of other men, seem to respect his ! He who makes his power entirely subservient to his ambition, is soon convinced of the resistance which he must encounter from accidents, opposing interests, and the limitation of his resources : he is as a pilot who, while guiding his vessel through rocks, hears each moment the crash of its timbers breaking or giving way. The prince who eminently devotes himself to the prosperity of his kingdom and to the public good, will also undoubtedly meet with some obstacles, but these obstacles neither sour nor irritate him ; when the end he proposes is honest and virtuous, his conscience is easy, and there is a harmony between his inclinations and his duty, which, in the midst of difficulties, preserves a calmness and tranquillity in the breast of the monarch. So far is he from avoiding his own reflections, and thus shortening the moments of life, that he enjoys himself in recollection and meditation, and in all those actions of the soul which concentrate a man within himself. The shadows of the night, by gathering around him consoling recollections of the past, enliven his retirement : the concussions of agitated nature, far from disturbing his imagination, awaken in him ideas which sweetly harmonize with his feelings ; the love of mankind with which he is smitten, the public benevolence with which he is animated, that order which he has been desirous to maintain, recalls to his mind the most sublime recollections, and, by displaying his means and capabilities for promoting the good of his subjects, raises him to some conception of that Infinite Being who seems to have created the world by one single volition of love and power.

In this constant career of purity of sentiment and of a corresponding conduct the beneficent king sees his days pass away,—and when warned by a long succession of years that the period draws nigh in which his strength must give way, he surveys with tranquillity this inevitable hour ; and when his time for acting and forming projects is closed, he casts a look back on his reign, and, satisfied with the wise use he has made of his power, resigns himself to those hopes of which virtuous and sensible souls are alone capable.

How different is the closing scene of that sovereign, whose views were influenced by ambition only and the love of war ! How often does this last moment appear terrible to him, and of what avail are his most glorious exploits ? Weighed down by age and sickness, when the shades of death surround him, and he would fain chase away the melancholy reflections that haunt him, does he then command his attendants to entertain him with a recital of his victorious battles ? Does he order those trophies to be spread before him, on which he might discern the tears that watered them ? No ; all these ideas terrify and distract him. “ *I have been too fond of war,*” was the last speech of the most powerful of kings ; such were the words he addressed to his great grandson ! Too late regret ! which certainly did not suffice to calm the agitations of his soul ! Ah ! how much happier he would have been, if, after a reign similar to that of Titus and Antoninus, he had been able to say to the young prince, “ I have experienced all sorts of pleasures : I have been acquainted with all kinds of glory : believe a dying king ; I have found no real content, but in the good I have been able to do ; tread in my steps : entertain for your people the same tender affection I have felt for them ; instead of destroying the establishments I have formed for the prosperity of the state ; instead of rejecting my principles of order and economy ; instead of abolishing the laws I have promulgated for the benefit of the lower class and the comfort of the wretched, proceed still farther, and let our names, blended together, be equally blessed : but when, in the early period of your reign, you hear the tumultuous acclamations that will be addressed to you, do not believe you are already in possession of the love of your subjects, nor that it is so very easy to merit their affection : consider, that these first expressions are the cries of hope : the people have so many wants, and are so incapable of distinguishing the degree of good which the best of kings may

perform, that if the sovereign whom they do not yet know, and of whose virtues or abilities they are yet ignorant, only leaves a free scope to their wishes and expectations, he will always excite and satisfy the imagination. Let this idea increase your compassion for those numerous beings, who, from their ignorance and affecting simplicity, believe that kings can redress all their grievances; and let it preserve you from a premature pride. The only just opinion of us, is that which we leave behind; the only glory, that which remains attached to our memory. My task is now at an end, and you are going to begin yours: yes, a moment longer, and those courtiers who surround me will attend on you; a moment longer, and the drums of the guards will announce your accession, and all the splendour of the throne will be displayed before your eyes. Do not suffer yourself to be dazzled by these brilliant seductions of the supreme rank: but more especially resist those wrong ideas of the greatness of kings, which ambitious or interested men will endeavour to inculcate in you: you will be rendered envious of the power of other nations, before you have time to be acquainted with your own; you will be urged to destroy their felicity, before you have time to reflect on the good you may do to your own subjects; you will be solicited to overturn the peace of the world, before you have secured the maintenance of order within your own kingdom; and you will be inspired with the desire of increasing your dominions, before you have even ascertained what cares and informations are necessary to govern with prudence the smallest of your provinces. Mistrust, alas! that variety of projects with which they endeavour to seduce the ambition and vanity of sovereigns, or to excite these passions in them: mistrust all those systems with which they attempt to make them forget, not only the limits of their faculties, but the shortness of their life, and every thing that they have in common with other men: stay by me a little longer, my son! to learn that the sovereign of a most powerful empire vanishes from the surface of the earth with less noise than a leaf that falls from the tree, or a light that is extinguished."

Tract No. XII. of the Society for the Promotion of
Permanent and Universal Peace.

AN
ESSAY ON WAR,

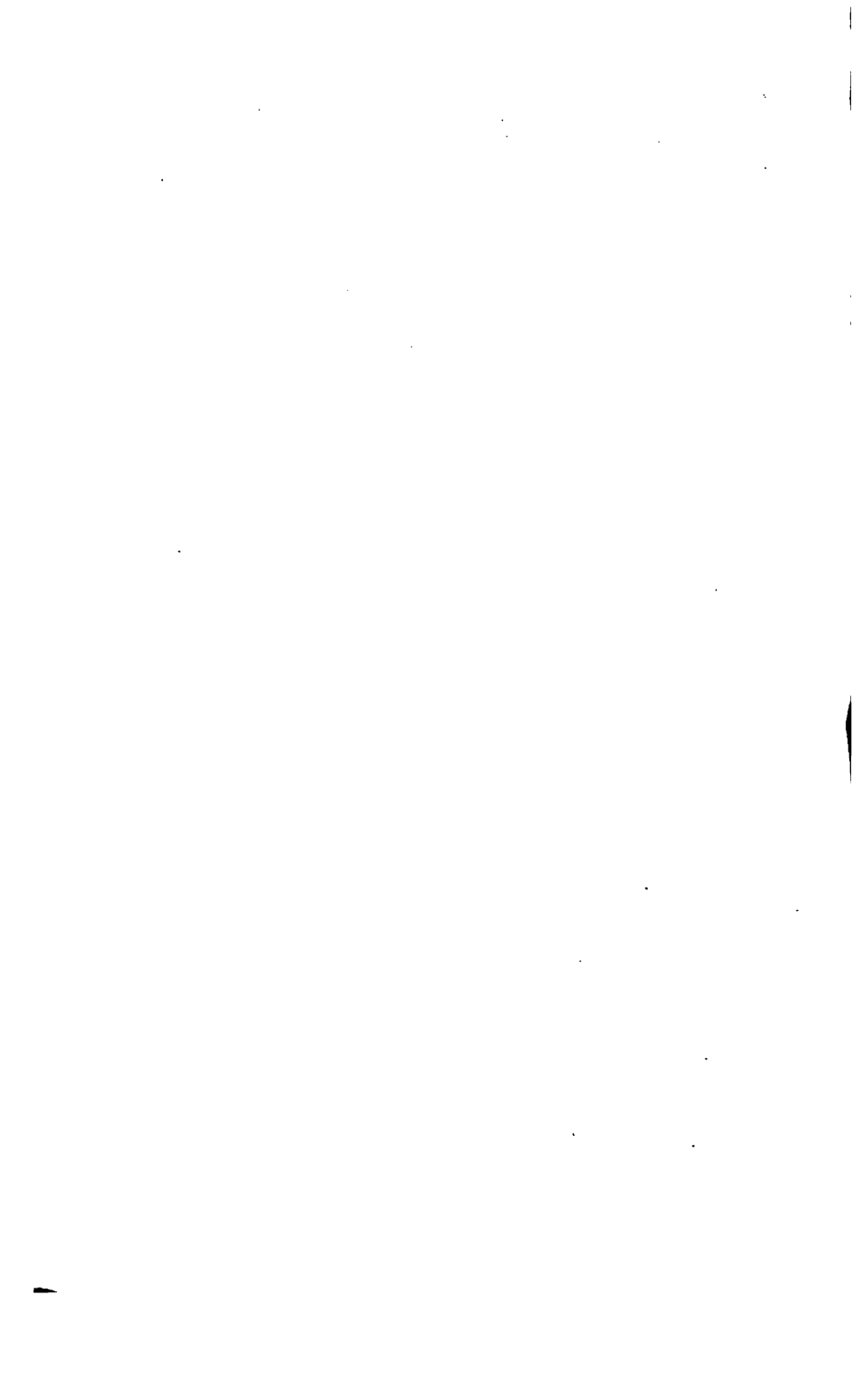
AND
ON ITS LAWFULNESS

UNDER
THE CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION.

BY
JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

STEREOTYPE EDITION.

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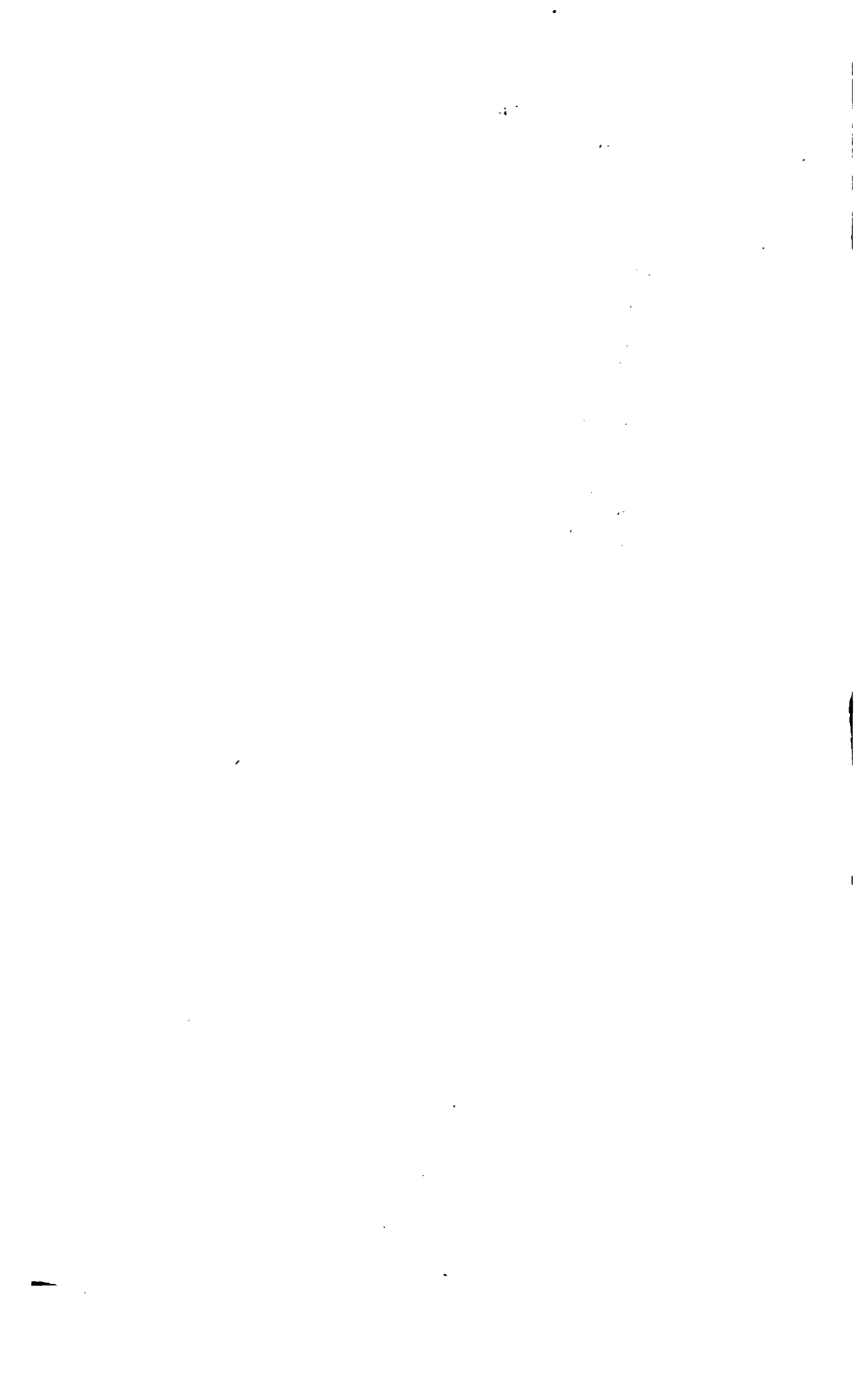
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AN

## ESSAY ON WAR.

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Of all the practices which disturb the tranquillity and lay waste the welfare of men, there is none which operates to so great an extent, or with so prodigious an efficacy, as *war*. Not only is this tremendous and dreadfully prevalent scourge productive of an incalculable amount of bodily and mental suffering,—so that, in that point of view alone, it may be considered one of the most terrible enemies of the happiness of the human race,—but it must also be regarded as a moral evil of the very deepest dye. “From whence come wars and fightings among you?” said the apostle James, “come they not hence, even of your lusts which war in your members? Ye lust and have not: ye kill and desire to have, and cannot obtain: ye fight and war: yet ye have not, because ye ask not;” chap. iv. 1, 2. War, therefore, has its origin in the inordinate desires and corrupt passions of men; and as is its origin, so is its result. Arising out of an evil root, this tree of bitterness seldom fails to produce, in vast abundance, the fruits of malice, wrath, cruelty, fraud, rapine, lasciviousness, confusion, and murder.

Although there are few persons who will dispute the accuracy of this picture of war—although every one knows that such a custom is evil in itself and arises out of an evil source—and although the *general position*, that war is at variance with the principles of Christianity, has a very extensive currency among

the professors of that religion—it is a singular fact that Friends\* are almost the only class of Christians who hold it to be their duty to God, to their neighbour, and to themselves, absolutely and entirely to abstain from that most injurious practice. While the views of Friends on the subject are thus comprehensive and complete, the generality of professing Christians, and many even of a reflecting and serious character, are still accustomed to make distinctions between one kind of war and another. They will condemn a war which is oppressive and unjust; and in this respect they advance no farther than the moralists of every age, country, and religion. On the other hand they hesitate as little in expressing their approbation of wars which are defensive, or which are otherwise undertaken in a just cause.

The main argument, of a scriptural character, by which the propriety and rectitude of warfare in a just cause (as it is termed) is defended and maintained, is *the divinely sanctioned example of the ancient Israelites*. That the Israelites were engaged in many contests with other nations; that those contests were often of a very destructive character; and that they were carried forward, on the part of the Israelites, under the direct sanction, and often in consequence of the clear command of the Almighty, are points which no one who is accustomed to peruse the history of the Old Testament, can pretend to deny. But we are not to forget that the wars of the Israelites differed from wars in general (even from those of the least exceptionable character in point of justice,) in certain very important and striking particulars. That very divine sanction which is pleaded as giving to the example of that people an authority of which other nations may still avail themselves in the maintenance of a similar practice, did, in fact, distinguish their wars from all those in which any other nation is known to have

\* This Essay on War has allusions to the Friends, or Quakers, because it is taken from a Work professing to give their tenets, entitled "Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends;" and as the sentiments of the Peace Society on War are in strict unison with theirs, these allusions are retained. It must be a subject of gratulation to the Friends that their tenet on war does not now so exclusively apply to them as it did formerly, and it is hoped that they will cheerfully cooperate with a Society which has been instrumental towards producing this auspicious change, and which continues to exert all its means and influence to make converts to their grand tenet on the unlawfulness of all war.



been ever engaged. They were undertaken in pursuance of the express command of the Almighty Governor of mankind ; and they were directed to the accomplishment of certain revealed designs of his especial providence. These designs had a twofold object : the temporal preservation and prosperity of God's peculiar people, on the one hand, and the punishment and destruction of idolatrous nations, on the other. The Israelites and their kings were, indeed, sometimes engaged in combating their neighbours without any direction from their divine Governor, and even against his declared will ; and these instances will not of course be pleaded as an authority for the practice of war : but such of their military operations as were sanctioned and ordered of the Lord (and these only are adduced in the argument in favour of war) assumed the character of a work of obedience and faith. They went forth to battle, from time to time, in compliance with the divine command, and in dependence upon that Being who condescended to regulate their movements, and to direct their efforts, in the furtherance of his own providence. These characteristics in the divinely sanctioned warfare of the Hebrews, were attended with two consequences of the most marked and distinguishing character. In the first place, the conflicts in which this people were thus engaged, and which so conspicuously called into exercise their obedience and faith, were far from being attended by that destruction of moral and pious feeling, which is so generally the effect of war ; but on the contrary were often accompanied by a condition of high religious excellence in those who were thus employed in fighting the battles of the Lord—an observation very plainly suggested by the history of Joshua and his followers, of the successive Judges, and of David. And secondly, the contests which were undertaken and conducted on the principles now stated were followed by uniform success. The Lord was carrying on his own designs, through certain appointed instruments ; and under such circumstances, while failure was impossible, success afforded an evidence of the divine approbation. Now it cannot be predicated even of the justest wars, as they are usually carried on among the nations of the world, that they are undertaken with the revealed sanction, or by the direct command of Jehovah—or that they are a work of obedience and

faith—or that they are often accompanied with a conditor. of high religious excellence in those who undertake them—or that they are followed by uniform success. On the supposition, therefore, that the system of Israelitish morals is still in force without alteration and improvement, it is manifest that we cannot justly conclude from the example of God's ancient people, that warfare, as it is generally practised, even when it bears the stamp of honour or defence, is consistent with the will of God.

In addition to the example of the Hebrews, the defenders of modern warfare are accustomed to plead the authority of John the Baptist; See *Grotius de Jure Belli ac Pacis*, lib. i. cap. ii. § vii. 5. It is recorded in the gospel of Luke, that when that eminent prophet was preaching in the wilderness, various classes of persons resorted to him for advice and instruction. Among others, "the soldiers demanded of him, saying, And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages;" chap. iii. 14. Since the precept of John to these soldiers that *they should do violence to no man*, probably related to their deportment among their friends and allies, it may be allowed that he did not on this occasion forbid the practice of fighting. On the other hand, it must be observed, that the expressions of the Baptist afford no direct encouragement to that practice. I would suggest that, with reference to the present argument, his doctrine is neutral. The question whether war was in itself lawful or unlawful, is one which was probably placed beyond his scope, and which he obviously did not entertain. On the supposition that the soldiers would continue to be soldiers, he confined himself to recommending to them that gentle, orderly, and submissive demeanour, which was so evidently calculated to soften the asperities of their profession.

But, although John the Baptist was engaged in proclaiming the *approach* of the christian dispensation—the kingdom of heaven, he did not himself appertain to that kingdom: See Matt. xi. 11. He belonged to the preceding institution, and his moral system was that of the law. Now although, on the supposition that this system continues unchanged, it may fairly be denied for the reasons now stated that the example of the Hebrews, or the expressions of the

Baptist, afford any valid authority for warfare as generally practised : it ought to be clearly understood, that the objection of Friends to every description of military operation, is founded principally *on that more perfect revelation of the moral law of God, which distinguishes the dispensation of the gospel of Christ.* We contend, and that with no slight degree of earnestness, that all warfare—whatever are its peculiar features, circumstances, or pretexts—is wholly at variance with the revealed characteristics and known principles of the *Christian* religion.

In support of this position, I may, in the first place, adduce the testimony of the prophets ; for these inspired writers, in their predictions respecting the gospel dispensation, have frequently alluded both to the superior spirituality and to the purer morality of that system of religion, of which the law with all its accompaniments was only the introduction. In the second chapter of the book of Isaiah we read the following prophecy : “ And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills ; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob ; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths ; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and rebuke many people ; *and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks : nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more ;*” ver. 2—4. The prophet Micah repeats the same prediction, and adds the following animating description : “ But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree ; and none shall make them afraid : for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it ;” Mic. iv. 1—4.

It is allowed by the Jews that the “last days” of which these prophets speak, are the “days of the Messiah ;” and the unanimous consent of Christian commentators confirms the application of those expressions to the period of that glorious dispensation which was introduced by our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Accordingly the actual predictions of his coming are elsewhere accompanied

with similar descriptions. In Isa. ix. 6, the Messiah is expressly denominated the "Prince of Peace." In Isa. xi. the reign of Christ is painted in glowing colours, as accompanied by the universal harmony of God's creation. Lastly, in Zech. ix. 9, 10, we read as follows: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion: shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass. *And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off: and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth.*" Comp. Ps. xlv. 9.

It is undeniable that, in these passages, a total cessation from the practice of war is described as one of the most conspicuous characteristics of Christianity. Such a consequence is represented by Isaiah as arising from the conversion of the heathen nations,—as resulting from their being led into the ways, instructed in the law, and enlightened by the word, of the Lord. Whoever indeed were to be the members of the true church of God, she was no longer to participate in the warfare of the world. The chariot was to be cut off from Ephraim, and the war horse from Jerusalem. It is true that, for the full accomplishment of these glorious prophecies, we must look forward to a period yet to come. But let us not deceive ourselves. The inspired writers describe this complete and uninterrupted peaceableness, as a distinguishing feature of the dispensation under which Christians are living—as the result of obedience to that law which they are at all times bound to follow: and we may therefore infer, that, if the true nature of the Christian dispensation were fully understood, and if the law by which it is regulated were exactly obeyed, a conversion to our holy religion, or the cordial and serious holding of it, would be uniformly accompanied with an entire abstinence from warfare. Thus the prevalence of the law of peace would be found commensurate, in every age of the church, with the *actual* extent of the Messiah's kingdom over men.

As the language of prophecy clearly suggests this doctrine, so it will be found, that, on the introduction of Christianity, there were

promulgated certain moral rules which, when fully and faithfully obeyed, infallibly lead to this particular result. Here I am by no means alluding exclusively to those divine laws, which condemn aggressive warfare and every species of unjust and unprovoked injury; for these laws (however it may be the intention of Christians to obey them) are far from being powerful enough to produce the effect in question. They were, indeed, commonly admitted in the world, long before the commencement of the Christian dispensation; and neither before nor after that era, have they ever been found sufficient to convert the sword into the ploughshare, and the spear into the pruning hook. In point of fact, the distinction which men are accustomed to draw between just and unjust warfare is, in a great plurality of instances, entirely nugatory; for there are few wars, however atrocious, which are not defended, and not many perhaps which the persons waging them do not *believe* to be justified, by some plea or other connected with self-preservation or honourable retribution. In addition therefore to the laws which forbid *spontaneous* injury, some stronger and more comprehensive principles were obviously needed, in order to the accomplishment of this great end; and these principles are unfolded in that pure and exalted code of morality which was revealed, in connexion with the gospel. They are, *the non-resistance of injuries, the return of good for evil, and the love of our enemies.*

It was the Lord Jesus himself who promulgated these principles and promulgated them as distinguishing his own dispensation from that of the law. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, *That ye resist not evil*: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain, &c. Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, *Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you*; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth

rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so? *Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.*" Matt. v. 38—48, comp. Luke vi. 27—29. So also the apostle Peter commands the believers not to render "evil for evil, nor railing for railing, but contrariwise, blessing." 1 Pet. iii. 9. And Paul in the following lively exhortations, holds up the very same standard of Christian practice: "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather *give place unto wrath*: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, *but overcome evil with good.*" Rom. xii. 19—21.

In the delivery of that holy law, by obedience to which Christians may be brought, in their small measure (*and yet with completeness according to that measure,*) to a conformity with the moral attributes of their heavenly Father, *our Lord has laid his axe to the root.* He has established certain principles which, as they are honestly observed in conduct, must put an end to every evil practice; and thus is the tree which bears the fruits of corruption cut down and destroyed. Of this nature precisely are the principles which we are now considering, and which, when followed up with true consistency, cannot fail to abolish warfare, whether offensive or defensive, whether aggressive or retributive, whether unjust or just. The great law of Christ, which his disciples are ever bound to obey, is the *law of love*—love complete, uninterrupted, universal, fixed upon God in the first place, and afterwards embracing the whole family of man. And, since war (of whatsoever species or description it may be) can never consist with this love, it is indisputable that, where the latter prevails as it ought to do, the former must entirely cease.

It is observed that our Lord's precepts, which have now been cited, are addressed to *individuals*. Since this is undeniably true, it follows that it is the clear duty of individual Christians to obey them; and to obey them uniformly, and on every occasion. If,

during the common course of their life, they are attacked, insulted, injured, and persecuted, they ought to suffer wrong, to revenge no injury, to return good for evil, and love their enemies. So also, should it happen that they are exposed to the more extraordinary calamities of war, their duty remains unaltered; their conduct must continue to be guided by the same principles. If the sword of the invader be lifted up against them, the precept is still at hand, that they resist not evil. If the insults and injuries of the carnal warrior be heaped upon them, they are still forbidden to avenge themselves, and still commanded to pray for their persecutors. If they be surrounded by a host of enemies, however violent and malicious those enemies may be, Christian love must still be unbroken, still universal. According then to the law of Christ, it is the duty of *individuals* to abstain from all warfare; nor can they avoid such a course if they follow his law. We are informed by Sulpitius Severus, that when the Roman Emperor Julian was engaged in bestowing upon his troops a largess with a view to some approaching battle, his bounty was refused by Martin, a soldier in his army who had been previously converted to Christianity "Hitherto," said he to Cæsar, "I have fought for thee: permit me now to fight for my God. Let those who are about to engage in war accept thy donative; I am the soldier of Christ; *for me*, the combat is unlawful;" *De Vita B. Mart. Ed Amst.* A. D. 1665, p. 445. Where is the solid, the sufficient, reason, why such, under similar circumstances, should not be the expressions of every true Christian?

The man who engages in warfare, retains his private responsibility; and, whatever may be the proceedings of his countrymen, whatever the commands of his superiors, he can never dispossess himself of his individual obligation to render to the law of his God a consistent and uniform obedience. But, secondly, the unlawfulness of war, under any of its forms, is equally evident when it is regarded as the affair of nations. Doubtless there may be found in the Scriptures a variety of injunctions relating to the particulars of human conduct, and applicable to men and women only as individuals; but it is one of the excellent characteristics of the moral law of God, that its *principles* are of universal application to

mankind, whatever be the circumstances under which they are placed; whether they act singly as individuals, or collectively as nations. No one, surely, who has any just views of morality, will pretend, for a moment, that those fundamental rules of conduct, which are given to guide every man in his own walk through life, may be deserted as soon as he unites with others, and acts in a corporate capacity. The absurd consequence of such a system would be manifestly this—that national crimes of every description might be committed without entailing any national guilt, and without any real infraction of the revealed will of God.

Now among these fundamental rules—these eternal, unchangeable principles—is that of *universal love*. The law of God, which is addressed without reservation or exception to all men, plainly says to them, Resist not evil: revenge not injuries: *love your enemies*. Individuals, nations consisting of individuals, and governments acting on behalf of nations, are all unquestionably bound to obey this law; and whether it is the act of an individual, of a nation, or of a government, *the transgression of the law is sin*; 1 John iii. 4. Nations or governments transgress the Christian law of love, and commit sin, when they declare or carry on war, precisely as the private duellist transgresses that law, and commits sin, when he sends or accepts a challenge, and deliberately endeavours to destroy his neighbour. It ought also to be observed that, through the medium of the nation, the case is again brought home to the conscience and responsibility of the individual. The man who takes a part, either himself or by a substitute, in the national warfare, takes a part also in the national sin. He aids and abets his nation in breaking the law of Christ. So far then is the example of his countrymen—the authority of his legislature—the command of his monarch—from being sufficient to justify his engagement in warfare, that he cannot follow that example, avail himself of that authority, or obey that command, *without adding, to his private transgression, the further criminality of actively promoting the transgression of the state*.

For the reasons now stated, I consider it evident that a total abstinence from warfare, on the part both of individuals and of nations, would be the necessary result of a strict adherence to the



principles of the law of Christ. But it will not be difficult to carry the argument a step further, and to show that one of the precepts now cited from the Sermon on the Mount, appears to bear a specific and peculiar allusion to the subject of war. "*Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies.*" In the first part of his discourse, our Lord has instituted a comparison between the system of morality, which, under the sanction and influence of the Mosaic institution, prevailed among the Israelites, and that purer and more perfect law of action, of which he was himself both the author and the minister. In calling the attention of his hearers to the sayings uttered "by them of old time" on the several moral points of his discourse, such as killing, adultery, divorce-ment, perjury, and retaliation—he has uniformly quoted from the law of Moses itself. It was with the principles of that law, as they were understood and received by the Jews, that he compared his own holier system, and he improved, enlarged, or superseded, the introductory and more imperfect code of morals (as was in each particular required) in order to make way for one which is capable of no improvement, and must endure for ever. Now the precepts of ancient times to which he last refers—the precepts respecting love and hatred—formed, in all probability, like the whole preceding series, a part of those divine edicts which were delivered to the Israelites by Moses. That which related to the love of their neighbour is recognized at once, and is as follows: "Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the *children of thy people*, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" Lev. xix. 18. The reader will observe that the love here enjoined was to be directed to the *children of the people of Israel*. The neighbour to be loved was the fellow-countrymen; or if a stranger, the proselyte; and the precept in fact commanded no more than that the Israelites—the members of the Lord's selected family—should *love one another*. So also the injunction of old, that the Israelites should hate their enemies, was exclusively *national*. They were not permitted to hate their private enemies, who belonged to the same favoured community. On the contrary, they were enjoined to do good to such enemies as these: "If thou meet thine enemy's

ox or his ass going astray," said the law, "thou shalt surely bring it back to him again." Exod. xxiii. 4. But they were to hate\* their national enemies—they were to make no covenant with the foreign and idolatrous tribes, who formerly possessed the land of Canaan. "When the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it," said Moses to the assembly of his people, "and hath cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou; and when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee, thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them." Deut. vii. 1, 2. comp. Exod. xxxiv. 11—13. On another occasion, a similar injunction was delivered respecting the Amalekites: "Therefore it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath given thee rest from all thine enemies round about, in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it, that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget it." Deut. xxv. 19.

Such was the hatred of enemies enjoined upon ancient Israel, and such was the manner in which it was to be applied—in the persevering, exterminating use of the national sword.† Now it is to these edicts, delivered in the times of old, and under the peculiar circumstances of the dispensation then existing, that the law of Christ is placed in opposition: "But I say unto you, *Love your enemies.*" How much soever, then, we may be justified by the

\* The verb "to hate," as used in the Holy Scriptures (Heb. שָׂנֵא, Gr. μισέω) does not imply *malignity of mind* so much as *opposition and enmity in action*; as the reader may be fully convinced on a reference to the concordances; See Schleusner, *Lex. voc. μισέω*, No. 1.

† Grotius, in his work *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, has himself insisted on this interpretation of the saying of old times respecting hatred, "*Odio habebis inimicum tuum, puta septem populos, quibuscum amicitiam colere, quorumque misereri, vetantur;*" Exod. xxxiv. 11. Deut. vii. 1. "His addendi Amalecites, in quos Hebræi jubentur bellum habere implacabile;" Deut. xxv. 19. *Lib. i. cap. 2. § iii. 1.* The correctness of the observation thus made by this learned defender of war is, I think, indisputable; but it is surprising that he did not notice the argument which it so obviously affords, in favour of the doctrine, *that, under the Christian dispensation, war is unlawful.*

undoubted universality of this law, in applying it to the circumstances of private life, we can scarcely fail to perceive that it was principally intended to discountenance these *national* enmities; and that the love here enjoined was specifically and peculiarly such as would *prevent the practice of war*. The Israelites were commanded to combat and destroy with the sword the nations who were their own enemies, and the enemies of God. But Christians are introduced to a purer and more lovely system of moral conduct: and the law which they are called upon to obey, is that which proclaims peace upon earth and good-will to men: they are commanded to be the friends of all mankind. If they are sent forth among idolatrous nations, it is as the ministers of their restoration, and not as the instruments of their punishment; and as they may not contend with the sword against the enemies of their God, much less may they wield it for any purpose of their own, whether it be in aggression, retribution, or defence. Armed with submission, forbearance, and long-suffering, they must secede from the warfare of a wrathful and corrupt world; and whatever be the aggravations to which they are exposed, must evince themselves, under the softening influence of universal love, to be the meek, the harmless, the benevolent, followers of the PRINCE OF PEACE.

I know of nothing in the New Testament which has any appearance of contravening the force of these divine precepts, or of the deductions now made from them, but a single passage in the gospel of Luke. We are informed by that sacred historian that after our Lord's paschal supper, and immediately before he was betrayed into the hands of his enemies, Jesus thus addressed his disciples: "When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye any thing? And they said, Nothing. Then said he unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip: *and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one*. For I say unto you, That this that is written must yet be accomplished in me, 'And he was reckoned among the transgressors:' for the things concerning me have an end;" chap. xxii. 35—37. The words employed by the Lord Jesus on this occasion may, when superficially considered, be deemed to

inculcate the notion that his followers were permitted and enjoined to defend themselves and their religion with the sword; but the context and the circumstances which followed after these words were uttered, evidently decide otherwise. The disciples appear, after their usual manner, to have understood their Lord literally, and they answered, "Here are two swords," and Jesus replied, *It is enough*. Now in declaring that two swords were *enough*, although they were then exposed to aggravated and immediately impending danger, he offered them an intelligible hint that he had been misunderstood—that the use of the sword in defence of their little company, was neither consistent with his views, nor really implied in his injunction. But the opportunity was at hand on which the disciples were to be completely undeceived. The enemies of Jesus approached, armed and caparisoned as if they were in pursuit of some violent robbers. When the disciples saw what would follow, they said unto Jesus, "Lord, shall we smite with the sword?" and Peter, the most zealous of their number, without waiting for his Master's reply, rushed forward and smote the servant of the High Priest, and cut off his ear. Then were he and his brethren clearly instructed by their Lord, that it was their duty not to fight, but to suffer wrong. "Suffer ye thus far," said he to Peter, and immediately afterwards he confirmed his doctrine by action: he touched the wounded man and healed him. Then, in expressions of the greatest significancy, he cried out to Peter, "Put up thy sword into the sheath: the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" See John xviii. 11: and as an universal caution against so antichristian a practice as that of using destructive weapons in self-defence, he added, "*All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword:*" Matt. xxvi. 52. Lastly, when soon afterwards he was carried before Pilate the Roman governor, he plainly declared that his kingdom was of such a nature, that it neither required nor allowed the defence of carnal weapons. "My kingdom," said he, "is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence." John xviii. 36.

It is sufficiently evident, therefore, that when our Lord exhorted

his disciples to sell their garments and buy swords, his precept was not to be understood *literally*. Such, indeed, is the explicit judgment of the generality of commentators. We may, therefore, either conclude with Erasmus that the sword of which our Lord here spake was the sword of the Spirit—the word of God, (see *Com. in. loc.*) or we may accede to the more prevalent opinion of critics, that the words of Jesus imported nothing more than a general warning to the disciples, that their situation was about to be greatly changed—that they were soon to be deprived of the personal and protecting presence of their divine Master—that they would be exposed to every species of difficulty, and become the objects of hatred and persecution—that they would no longer be able to trust in their neighbours, and would, therefore, be driven to a variety of expedients in order to provide for their own maintenance and security. See *Estius, Vatablus, and others, in Poli Syn., Gill, &c.*

In order to complete the present branch of the argument, I have, in the last place, to remark, that the doctrine of the Society of Friends respecting the absolute inconsistency of warfare with the moral code of the Christian dispensation, was one which prevailed to a very considerable extent during the early ages of the Christian church. Justin Martyr, (A.D. 140) in his first apology, quotes the prophecy of Isaiah, (already cited in the present Essay,) respecting the going forth of the law and of the word of God from Jerusalem, and the consequent prevalence of a state of peace. “That these things have come to pass,” he proceeds, “you may be readily convinced: for twelve men, destitute both of instruction and of eloquence, went forth from Jerusalem into the world, and by the power of God gave evidence to every description of persons, that they were sent by Christ to teach all men the divine word: *and we who were once slayers of one another* (that is to say, commonly engaged in warfare) *do not fight against our enemies;*” \* *Apol. i. cap. 39, p. 67, Ed. Ben.* Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, (A.D. 167) discusses the same prophecy, and proves its relation to our Saviour, by the fact that the followers of Jesus had

\* Οὐ πολεμοῦμεν τοὺς ἑχθροὺς.

disused the weapons of war, and no longer knew how to fight;\* *Adv. Hær. lib. iv. cap. 34. Ed. Ben. p. 275.* Tertullian, (A.D. 200) in one part of his works, alludes to Christians who were engaged together with their heathen countrymen in military pursuits, *Apol. cap. 42, Ed. Semler, v. 102*;† but on another occasion, he informs us that many soldiers who had been converted to Christianity, quitted those pursuits in consequence of their conversion;‡ and he repeatedly expresses his own opinion that any participation in war was unlawful for believers in Jesus—not only because of the idolatrous practices enjoined on the soldiers of the Roman armies, but because Christ had forbidden the use of the sword and the revenge of injuries:§ *De Idol. 19; Ed. Semler. iv. 176; De Coron. Mil. 12, iv. 355.* Origen (A.D. 230) in his work against Celsus, says of himself and his brethren, “We no longer take up the sword against any nation, nor do we learn any more to make war. We have become, for the sake of Jesus, *the children of peace*,” *lib. v. 33, Ed. Ben. i. 602.* In another passage of the same work he maintains that Christians are the most useful of subjects because they pray for their monarch. “By such means,” says he, “we fight for our king abundantly: *but we take no part in his wars, even though he urge us*,” || *lib. viii. 73. Ed. Ben. i. 797.* Here we have not only the declarations of this ancient and eminent

\* “Si autem libertatis lex, id est, verbum Dei ab apostolis, qui ab Hierusalem exierunt, annuntiatum in universam terram, in tantum transmutationem fecit, ut gladios et lanceas bellatorias in aratra fabricaverit ipse, et in falces quæ donavit ad metendum frumentum demutaverit, et *jam nesciunt pugnare, sed percussi et alteram præbent maxillam*; non de aliquo Prophetæ dixerunt hæc, sed de eo qui fecit ea.”

† “Navigamus et nos vobiscum et militamus.”

‡ “Plane si quos militia præventos fides posterior invenit, alia conditio est, ut illorum quos Ioannes admittebat ad lavacrum; et centurionum fidelissimorum, quem Christus probat, et quem Petrus catechizat: dum tamen suscepta fide atque signata, aut deserendum statim sit, *ut a multis actum*; aut omnibus modis cavendum, ne quidquid adversus Deum committatur.”—*De Cor. Mil. cap. ii.*

§ “Quomodo autem bellabit, imo quomodo etiam in pace militabit, sine gladio, quem Dominus abstulit? Nam etsi adierant milites ad Ioannem et formam observationis acceperant; si etiam centurio crediderat; *omnem postea militem Dominus in Petro exarmando discinxit*,” *De Idol. cap. 19.* “Licet in gladio conversari, Domino pronunciante gladio perituro, qui gladio fuerit usus? Et prælio operabitur filius pacis, cui nec litigare conveniet? Et vincula et carcerem et tormenta et supplicia administrabit, nec suarum ultor injuriarum?”—*De Cor. Mil. cap. ii.*

|| *Ὁδὸν στρατεύμεθα μὲν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ.*

father of his own sentiment, that war is inconsistent with the religion of Christ ; but a plain testimony (corresponding with that of Justin and Irenæus) that the Christians of those early times were *accustomed* to abstain from it. Traces of the same doctrine and practice are very clearly marked in the subsequent history of the church. Under the reign of Dioclesian (A.D. 300) more especially, a large number of Christians refused to serve in the army, and in consequence of their refusal many of them suffered martyrdom ; Vide *Grot. de Jure Bell. lib. i. cap. ii. § 8. Ruinart Acta Martyrum ; de S. Maximiliano, Ed. Amst. p. 300.* Now, although the conduct of these Christians might partly arise, as Grotius suggests, from their religious objections to the idolatrous rites at that time mixed up with the military system, it is probable that the unlawfulness of war itself for the followers of Christ was also a principle on which they acted. Thus Lactantius, who wrote during the reign of this very emperor, expressly asserts, that “ *to engage in war cannot be lawful for the righteous man, whose warfare is that of righteousness itself ;*” \* *De vero Cultu, lib. vi. cap. 20.* And again, in the twelfth canon of the Council of Nice, held under the reign of Constantine, (A.D. 325) a long period of excommunication is attached, as a penalty, to the conduct of those persons who, having once in the ardour of their early faith renounced the military calling, were persuaded by the force of bribes to return to it—“ *like dogs to their own vomit ;*” Vide *Mansi Coll. Concil. tom. ii. p. 674.* The circumstances particularly alluded to in this canon, might indeed have taken place during the tyranny of the idolatrous Licinius, whom Constantine had so lately subdued ; but the canon itself was, I presume, intended for the future regulation of the church ; and such a law would scarcely have been promulgated under the reign of the converted Constantine, had not an opinion been entertained in the council, that *war itself*, however prevalent and generally allowed, was inconsistent with the highest standard of Christian morality. We have already noticed the declaration of Martin, addressed to the Emperor Julian, (A.D. 360) that it was unlawful for him to fight because he was a Christian ;

\* “ *Ita neque militare justo licebit, cujus militia est ipsa justitia.*”

and even so late as the middle of the fifth century, Leo the Pope declared it to be "contrary to the rules of the church that persons after the action of penance (persons then considered to be pre-eminently bound to obey the law of Christ) *should revert to the warfare of the world;*" *Epist. ii.*\*

Having thus endeavoured to establish and confirm the sentiment of Friends, that all participation in this warfare of the world is forbidden by the law of Christ, and especially by that provision of it which enjoins the *love of our enemies*, I must, in order to do full justice to the present important subject, advert to another principle, which appears to me *equally* to evince the total inconsistency of the practice of war with the true character of the Christian religion—the principle *that human life is sacred, and that death is followed by infinite consequences*. Under the dispensation of the law, the Israelites were, on various occasions, enjoined to inflict death; both in the capital punishment of their own delinquents, and in those wars which had for an object the extermination of idolatrous nations. When the destruction of the life of men was thus expressly authorized by the mandate of the Creator, it is unquestionable that the life of men was rightly destroyed; but the searcher of the Scriptures will not fail to remark that the sanction thus given to killing was accompanied with a comparatively small degree of illumination respecting the true nature of life and death—respecting immortality and future retribution. Bishop Warburton, in his work on the divine legation of Moses, has endeavoured to prove the truth of the miraculous history of the Pentateuch, on the ground that the Israelites, who were destitute of all knowledge on the subject in question, could be governed, as they were governed *only* through the medium of miracles. Now, although the bishop may have overstrained his argument, and although there are certain passages in the Old Testament which allude to a life after death, and to a future judgment, it is sufficiently evident that the *full* revelation of these important truths was reserved for the dispensation of the gospel of Christ. Those who are accustomed

\* "Contrarium esse ecclesiasticis regulis, post pœnitentiæ actionem redire ad militiam secularem."—*Quoted by Grotius, de Jure Belli. lib. i. cap. ii. § 9.*



to read the declarations of Jesus and his apostles, can no longer conceal from themselves that man is born for eternity ; that when his body dies, his soul ascends into Paradise, Luke xxiii. 42, &c. or is cast into hell, Luke xvi. 23 ; and that after the day of resurrection, and of final and universal judgment, we shall all reap the full and eternal reward of our obedience or our rebellion, of our virtue or our vice. Christians thus instructed and enlightened are constrained to acknowledge, that the *future* welfare of an individual man, is of greater importance than the present and merely temporal prosperity of a whole nation ; nor can they, if they be consistent with themselves, refuse to confess that, unless in such an action they are sanctioned by the express authority of their divine Master, they take upon themselves a most unwarrantable responsibility when they cut short the days of their neighbour, and transmit him, prepared or unprepared, to the awful realities of an everlasting state. Since, then, no such express authority can be found in the New Testament ; since, on the contrary, it is clearly declared in that sacred volume, that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, and that his followers "war not after the flesh"—I cannot but conclude that for one man to kill another (under whatever circumstances of expediency or provocation the deed may be committed), is utterly unlawful under the Christian dispensation.

The *visible* effects of the far-famed battle of Waterloo were sufficiently appalling—multitudes of the wounded, the dying, and the dead, spread in wild confusion over the ensanguined plain ! But did Christians fully know the *invisible* consequences of such a contest—could they trace the flight of thousands of immortal souls (many of them disembodied, perhaps, while under the immediate influence of diabolical passions) into the world of eternal retribution—they would indeed shrink with horror from such a scene of destruction, and adopt, without further hesitation, the same firm and unalterable conclusion.\*

\* It is evident that the principle now stated applies to the punishment of death as well as to war. The use of such a punishment was, indeed, consistent with that inferior degree of moral and religious light which was enjoyed by the people of God, before the coming of the Messiah ; but, on the ground now mentioned, it

Such, then, are the grounds on which Friends consider it to be their duty entirely to abstain from the practice of war. On a review of the whole argument the reader will recollect, that the wars of the Israelites bore, in various respects, so peculiar a character, as to afford no real sanction to those of other nations, even on the supposition that the dispensation of the law is continued—also that the precept of John the Baptist to soldiers appears, in reference to the present question, to be negative—but that the opinion of Friends on that question rests principally on the moral law, *as revealed under the Christian dispensation*—that abstinence from warfare among the followers of the Messiah, was predicted by the prophets, as one of the principal characteristics of that dispensation—that, in the code of Christian morality, are fully unfolded the principles which are alone sufficiently powerful to produce this effect, namely, those of suffering wrong, returning good for evil, and loving our enemies—that since these principles were

appears to be at total variance with the characteristics of the Christian revelation. Such was the opinion of some of the early fathers of the church, as well as of more modern philanthropists. Tertullian classes a participation in capital condemnations with the aiding and abetting of idolatry itself: for in one of the passages already cited from his works, we find him reasoning on the possible innocence of a war, *cui non sit necessitas immolationum* (of sacrifices to idols) *vel capitalium judiciorum*; *De Idol.* 19. So also Lactantius; “It is unlawful for a righteous man to prosecute any person capitally; for it matters not whether we kill by the sword or by the word—*since all killing is prohibited*. This divine law allows of no exception. It must ever be a forbidden wickedness to *put man to death*: for God has created him a *sacred animal*.”—*De vero cultu*, lib. vi. cap. 20.

It may indeed be reasonably questioned whether the infliction of death as a *punishment for murder* is not still sanctioned by the divine edict delivered to Noah and his family—“Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man;” *Gen. ix. 6*. That this is the sentiment of Christians in general, and of some of the members of our own Society, I am well aware; nor do I forget that William Penn and his council, when they settled the laws of Pennsylvania, enacted the capital punishment of this worst of crimes. For my own part, I incline to the opinion, that this divine declaration, like similar provisions in the Mosaic law, was not intended to have a permanent operation—that it was promulgated at a period when the moral law of God was not fully revealed to men—and that the infliction of the punishment of death even for murder is, on the whole, inconsistent with the *perfection* of the Christian system.

On the subject of the *inexpediency* of capital punishments and of their practical inconsistency with the present condition of the British population, the reader is referred to the speech of Thomas Fowell Buxton, delivered in the House of Commons, during the session of 1821, and since published.

so clearly promulgated by Jesus and his apostles, the *individual* who engages in warfare and destroys his enemy, whether it be in aggression or defence, plainly infringes the divine law—that nations when they carry on war do also infringe that law—and that the Christian who fights by the command of his prince, and in behalf of his country, not only commits sin in his own person, but aids and abets the national transgression—that on a consideration of the Jewish precepts, with which is compared the injunction of Christ to his followers respecting the love of their enemies, it appears that this injunction was specifically directed against national wars—that when our Lord exhorted his disciples to sell their garments and buy swords, it is evident, from the circumstances which followed, that his expressions were to be understood figuratively—that the sentiments and practices of Friends, in reference to the present subject, are so far from being new and extraordinary, that they form a striking and prevalent feature in the early history of the Christian church—lastly, that the practice of warfare is directly at variance with the full light enjoyed under the gospel dispensation respecting life, death, and eternity.

Notwithstanding the clearness and importance of those principles which evince the utter inconsistency of the practice of war with the Christian dispensation, it is continually pleaded that wars are often expedient, and sometimes absolutely necessary for the preservation of states. To such a plea it might be sufficient to answer that nothing is so expedient, nothing so desirable, nothing so *necessary*, either for individuals or for nations, as a conformity, in point of conduct, with the revealed will of the Supreme Governor of the universe. I may, however, in conclusion, venture to offer a few additional remarks on this last part of our subject.

Let reflecting Christians, in the first place, take a deliberate survey of the history of Europe during the last eighteen centuries, and let them impartially examine how many of the wars waged among Christian nations have been, on their own principles, really expedient or *necessary* on either side, for the preservation of states. I apprehend that the result of such an examination would be a satisfactory conviction, that by far the greater part of those wars are so far from having truly borne this character, that, notwith-

standing the common excuse of self-defence by which, in so many cases, they have been supposed to be justified, they have, in point of fact, even in a political point of view, been much more hurtful than useful to all the parties engaged in them. Where, for instance, has England found an equivalent for the almost infinite profusion of blood and treasure, which she has wasted on her many wars? Must not the impartial page of history decide that *almost the whole* of her wars, however justified in the view of the world by the pleas of defence and retribution, have, in fact, been waged against imaginary dangers, might have been avoided by a few harmless concessions, and have turned out to be extensively injurious to her in many of their results? If Christians would abstain from all wars which have no better foundation than the false system of worldly honour—from all which are not, on political grounds, absolutely inevitable—from all which are in reality, injurious to their country—they would take a very important step towards the adoption of that entirely peaceable conduct which is upheld and defended by the Society of Friends.

After such a step had been taken, it must, indeed, be admitted that certain occasions might remain, on which warfare would appear to be expedient, and, according to the estimate of most persons, *actually necessary*, for the *mere* purposes of defence and self-preservation. On such occasions I am well aware, that, if we are to abide by the decisions of that lax and subordinate morality which so generally prevails among the professors of the Christian name, we must confess that war *is right, and cannot be avoided*. But for true Christians, for those who are brought under the influence of vital religion, for those who would “follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth,” war is *never* right. It is *always* their duty to obey his high and holy law—to suffer wrong—to return good for evil—to love their enemies. If, in consequence of their obedience to this law, they apprehend themselves to be surrounded with many dangers—if tumult and terror assail them—let them still remember that “cursed” is “the man that trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm:” let them still place an undivided reliance upon the power and benevolence of their God and Saviour. It may be his good pleasure that they be delivered from

the outward peril by which they are visited ; or he may decree that they fall a sacrifice to that peril. But whatever be the result, as long as they are preserved in obedience to his law, so long are they safe in his hands. They "*know* that ALL THINGS work together for good to them that love God ;" Rom. viii. 28.

Godliness, however, has the promise of this life, as well as of that which is to come ; we may, therefore, entertain a reasonable confidence, that our temporal happiness and safety, as well as our growth in grace, will in general be promoted by obedience to our heavenly Father. It is not in vain, even in an outward point of view, that God has invited his unworthy children to cast their cares upon him ; and to trust him for their support and protection ; for though he may work no miracles in their favour, the very law which he gives them to obey is adapted, in a wonderful manner, to convert their otherwise rugged path through life into one of comparative pleasantness, security, and peace. These observations are applicable with a peculiar degree of force, to those particulars in the divine law, which, as they are closely followed, preclude all warfare. No weapons of self-defence will, on the whole, be found so efficacious as Christian meekness, kindness, and forbearance, the suffering of injuries, the absence of revenge, the return of good for evil, and the ever-operating love of God and man. Those who regulate their life and conversation with true circumspection, according to these principles, have, for the most part, little reason to fear the violent hand of the enemy and the oppressor. Having on the breastplate of righteousness, and firmly grasping the shield of faith, they are quiet in the centre of storms, safe in the heart of danger, and victorious amidst a host of enemies.

Such, in a multitude of instances, has been the lot of Christian individuals, and such might also be the experience of Christian nations. When we consider the still degraded condition of mankind, we can hardly at present look for the trial of the experiment ; but was there a people who would renounce the dangerous guidance of worldly honour, and boldly conform their national conduct to the eternal rules of the law of Christ—was there a people who would lay aside the weapons of a carnal warfare, and proclaim the principles of universal peace ; suffer wrong

with condescension ; abstain from all retaliation ; return good for evil, and diligently promote *the welfare of all men*—I am fully persuaded, that such a people would not only dwell in absolute safety, but would be blessed with eminent prosperity, enriched with unrestricted commerce, loaded with reciprocal benefits, and endowed, for every good, and wise, and worthy purpose, with irresistible influence over surrounding nations.

THE END.

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*Tract No. XIII., Part I. of the Society for the Promotion  
of Permanent and Universal Peace.*

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# OBSTACLES AND OBJECTIONS

TO

THE CAUSE OF PERMANENT

AND

# UNIVERSAL PEACE,

CONSIDERED.

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BY

A LAYMAN.

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(REVISED AND ABRIDGED FROM THE AMERICAN EDITION.)

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# OBSTACLES AND OBJECTIONS TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

## SECTION I.

### *Introduction.*

IN the course of my peregrinations through the country, I fall in with minds of every description; and almost every one of them has some objection to urge against the Peace Society, either as to its principles or its measures. For some, our principles are too high—quite ultra. “They have no notion of spiking all our cannon, levelling our fortifications, disbanding our army, and trusting to the providence of God and moral power alone for protection.”

Now I think every man may oppose war on his own ground as a fruitful source of misery, both temporal and eternal; and that whatever may be his private sentiments, he may give the weight of his influence against all wars of ambition, conquest, aggression, or retaliation. There is no danger of making the world too peaceable; no nation ever yet was hurt by abstaining from all war.

It ought not, however, to be suppressed, that most of the leaders in the Peace cause are opposed to all war, and that almost all of those who have looked into the subject by the light of the gospel, have been brought, often reluctantly and to their own surprise, to adopt that principle as the only safe one for a Christian. Let any one who has any doubts on this subject take the gospel, and study it prayerfully and diligently in reference to peace and war, and let him improve what light he has by acting in the cause of Peace, and he will have more light, and will find that it is safest to follow the precepts of Christ, wherever they may lead.

It is very seldom that a man can point out the precise moment when his mind changed from one side of a question to the other. I can hardly tell when my own mind changed. All I can say is, “Whereas I was once blind, now I see.” And the light has been growing brighter and brighter for the past ten years, and I cannot say that it is yet noon.

I believe that objections are often raised for an excuse to the conscience. If our principles are too high, why not form a Peace Society on lower principles? and if too low, why not get up a society which shall go far enough? Will a man stand alone and say, “I am the bedstead of Procrustes: all that are taller than I, I will shorten; and all who are shorter, I will stretch; or else I will have nothing to do with any Peace Society?” If sincerely desirous to aid the cause of Peace, why not join in the Peace efforts now. Do something to enlighten your own mind and that of the public. The publications of the Peace Society are always open to free discussion.

But there are other excuses sometimes made to conscience, such as, “I am a Peace man, and believe all wars unchristian, but we must wait God’s time. The millennium will surely come, and God wants not the aid of man to bring it about.” Another says, “Preach the gospel. There is no need of any voluntary association on the subject: when all men become Christians, wars will cease, and not before.” And he concludes that Christians must continue to kill one another until all men become Christians!

There are many other objections to the cause of Peace of a like nature with those above specified, and there are also many obstacles to our cause; some apparent to all; others more latent, but not less dangerous; and I



purpose, in a series of essays, to take up the *obstacles and objections* which lie in the way of the cause of Peace; and shall take the obstacles first, because they are, in fact, the foundation of the objections.

## SECTION II.

### *The Prejudices of Education.*

THE first obstacle to the cause of Peace which I shall consider is *the prejudice of education*. But so much has been already said on the subject by other writers and myself, that I barely glance at it.

In the present state of society, almost everything is calculated to give the mind a bias in favour of war. From the cradle to the grave we are used to hear the praises of warriors sounded, as though they were the greatest benefactors of their country. We see everywhere their portraits, their busts, and their statues. Most of our books, from the nursery tales to Homer's *Iliad*, are full of the praises of warriors. Our militia system, with its gaudy and fantastic dresses, its feathers, and horsehair, and bearskin, and tinsel, with its order, motion and music, give to children false ideas of war. They do not see our companies of militia lately returned from Florida, reduced in numbers, pale and sickly, and falling one after another into an untimely grave.\* There is no parade of the sick, the wounded, the dying and the dead, with their bodies half consumed by the wolves and turkey-buzzards. They see nothing of the forlorn widow and her weeping children. Everything which they see of war is gaudy, brilliant, and exhilarating.

Our prejudices render us blind to the faults of warriors and the sins of war. If one has been a successful general, and killed a great many of his fellow-creatures, it is thought almost impious to doubt that he has gone to heaven. Let him have profaned the Sabbath ever so much; let him have lied ever so often, and practised every art of deception; let him have plundered, robbed, and murdered ever so many innocent persons; let him have trampled on all laws, human and Divine; all this is excused as necessary to war. If he be an adulterer, a gambler, and drunkard besides—provided he does not get *very* drunk on the day of battle—all these vices are excused on account of his military virtues, which are so much like them. In England, to doubt whether a Marlborough or a Nelson has gone to heaven; and in France, formerly, if not now, to suspect that Napoleon has gone to perdition, would be thought the height of fanaticism: and such is the force of prejudice in favour of warriors, that I dare not name the heroes of my own country. Is it wonderful that a boy should aspire to a character which covers him with glory on earth while he lives, and secures heaven to him when he dies, whatever may have been his vices and his crimes?

Although we are very blind to our own prejudices, we are very sharp-sighted to the prejudices of others. We wonder at the prejudices of our southern brethren, brought up among slaves, that they cannot see the sin of slavery as we do who never owned any; without considering that we tolerate, and often applaud, a system which is the origin of all slavery, both political and personal, and which is more cruel in its consequences, and more destructive to the interests of the immortal soul than negro slavery. We are astonished at the infatuation of the Hindoo, who casts himself before the wheels of Juggernaut to be crushed to death; while we

\* May not we refer to our misguided and wounded fellow countrymen. How appalling to see them in our streets, half clad and half starved, with mangled limbs, and ruined constitutions! When will men see the folly, as well as the sin of war? Well may we say, with the immortal Cowper,

“War is a game which, were their subjects wise,  
Kings would not play at.”—

tolerate a system which probably has destroyed more lives in one day, than the car of Juggernaut has since the creation of the world.

Were it not for the prejudices of education, we should see very readily the inconsistency of war with the religion we profess. These prejudices must be reckoned among the greatest obstacles to the propagation of the pacific principles of the gospel; and every friend of peace should endeavour to counteract them as much as possible, in the education of children and youth committed to his or her care.

This subject particularly addresses itself to mothers. It has been said with truth, "Those who rock the cradle rule the world." It is in the power of every mother, *if she begins early enough*, to bring up her son in such a manner as shall guard him against the false notions with which the world abounds, and shall enable him, by God's help, to keep clear of its "impositions."

### SECTION III.

#### *Indifference to the subject.*

THE next obstacle to the general prevalence of the pacific principles inculcated in the gospel, which I shall mention, is *indifference* to the subject.

There is a sluggishness in the moral world, and unfortunately for the cause of peace, there is no excitement about it, as there is in many other works of Christian benevolence. There is no opposition to arouse the dormant faculties of the mind. Almost every one says, "God bless you;" "Go on and prosper;" "I wish you success." If we ask such an one for assistance, he begs to be excused: "really he is so much engaged in other works of benevolence," that he can afford us neither time nor money. He is as much of a peace man as any body, but he must first set all the slaves free, or he must first abolish intemperance, or he must devote himself to the cause of moral reform. And so, like the hare in the fable, with many friends, the cause of peace is left to shift for itself.

There is great reason to fear that the friends of peace in this country have never yet taken the high ground which the Scriptures warrant them to take. If they had, I believe this indifference would have ceased in a great measure; and Christians would begin to inquire how far the advocates of peace are right. And though many more would oppose us, there would be many who would support and protect us. It can hardly be expected that the true principles of peace will meet with the approbation of men of the world; for the "natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned," (1 Cor. ii. 14.) We have reason, therefore, to expect that if the principles of peace, which are warranted by the gospel, were openly promulgated by the friends of peace, they would meet the opposition of the world. If they should come out and denounce *all* war, offensive and defensive, and attack the war of the Revolution, and assert, that however pure might have been the motives of those who instigated it, the measures pursued were not in accordance with the principles of the gospel; that the same principles which would warrant the war of the Revolution, would warrant also an insurrection of the slaves; that the law of violence is never allowed to the Christian, and that, come what may, he never should depart from the law of love; that he should consent to suffer, rather than make others suffer, and "take joyfully the spoiling of his goods;" that he should never attempt to overcome evil with evil; if they should take the ground of the primitive Christians, and never resort to the

law of violence for the prevention of evil, protection, or redress, and that if it is wrong to fight, it is wrong to learn to fight, and that consequently all preparation for war should be immediately abandoned; if the friends of peace should take this ground, indifference would cease. Every man would take one side or the other. Men's passions would be aroused. Persecution would commence; and one side or the other must suffer. Better to suffer than to sin. See, for instance, the anti-slavery cause. What would ever have become of that without persecution? We should all have gone to sleep over it, just as we have over the peace cause.

On the other hand, it is argued that this excitement has done more hurt than good; that the friends of peace must not go too fast; that they ought to be content with the success which has already attended their labours; that under the mild and gentle ministrations of the Peace Societies, a great change in public opinion has been already effected; and that the friends of peace ought to be satisfied to work along quietly, content with their obscurity, until the next generation comes on the field of action, who will be less prejudiced than the present against peace principles; that the world is not yet prepared for the whole truth, and has need of milk rather than of strong meat, and that many of our friends, especially among the aged, will leave us if we take ultra ground.

I am tired of this everlasting apathy, and feel more disposed to contend for the cause of peace than ever; "but the weapons of my warfare shall not be carnal, but spiritual," and I pray that they may be mighty through God to the pulling down of the strong-holds of sin and satan.

#### SECTION IV.

##### *Lack of faith in the promises of God.*

ANOTHER obstacle to the progress of pacific sentiments, is want of faith in the promises of God.

If any great work is undertaken, Unbelief exclaims, "Behold if the Lord would make windows in heaven, might this thing be?" (2 Kings vii. 2.)

I need not here recapitulate the promises which are scattered through the whole Bible; for there are few that pretend to even a speculative belief in the Divine inspiration of Holy Writ, who deny that a state of society is absolutely promised, when the nations shall not even *learn* war any more. For it is written, "And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it," (Micah iv. 3, 4.) And to avow a disbelief in these promises, to which God has added so solemn an asseveration, would be to give up all pretension to the belief in Divine revelation, and to place one's self on the same footing with Hume and Paine. It is true that Christians generally have some vague notion that the time will come when the nature of the wolf and the lion will be changed; and that, instead of living on flesh, to which their digestive organs are adapted, they will eat straw, like an ox; not once suspecting that the lion and the wolf are in their own bosom—that a carnivorous appetite governs the community of which they form a part; and that every time they glorify a warrior for his martial achievements, they are at the same time stimulating that appetite, and catering for its gratification.

But the millennium is nearer to every one than he is willing to believe.

Let a man adopt the pacific principles of the gospel, to their whole extent—let him love his enemies, and be prepared to render always good for evil, and the millennium has come to *him*. He has it already, as much as he can have it, were he to live for ever. The principle of love is the principle of happiness: it dwells in heaven, and heaven dwells in the breast of that man who loves God with all his heart, and his neighbour as himself. The only thing necessary to bring about the millennium, is to give these principles a general circulation, and when they are generally adopted, the millennium is come, which is not so difficult, if Christians could only be persuaded to set the example.

There are many who call themselves Christians, who say that “wars always have been, and therefore they always will be.” They do not take any notice of the wonderful changes which have been already effected in the world. Look at war itself; what is it now compared with what it was a few centuries ago? Whoever will compare ancient things with modern, will perceive that a mighty change has been effected; and since the dawn of the Reformation, the world has advanced full one half way towards the millennium. A revolution has already commenced in public opinion with respect to the unlawfulness of all war—and “revolutions do not go back:” but we have every reason to believe that the change will go on to perfection, just so fast as the church of Christ will carry it. It is in her power to bring the millennium, whenever she will labour and pray for it. Let every Christian put his shoulder to the wheel, and call upon God—and the work will soon be accomplished.

#### SECTION V.

*The expectation that the millennium will be brought about without human effort.*

ANOTHER thing which obstructs the progress of the principles of Peace, is the opinion that the promises of God will be effected without human instrumentality.

Practical antinomianism has been banished from the church in respect to almost every other cause but that of Peace, and Christians begin to be almost ashamed of it even in this cause. The time was, when Christians thought that the heathen would be converted without any instrumentality or trouble of theirs; and Christians slumbered and slept, while millions of heathen were every year going down to the grave, without once having heard of a Saviour. The church has at length awaked from her slumber, and glorious results have followed her exertions—much more glorious than could have been expected, when we consider what an obstacle war among Christians throws in the way of the conversion of Jews and heathens. Were this obstacle removed, a nation would be born in a day, and all flesh would soon see the salvation of God. Indeed, almost all that has been done, has been brought to pass during comparatively peaceable times, and so much has been done, that we have reason to thank God and take courage.

Everything which ought to be done, can be done. There is no obstacle to the accomplishment of any of God's promises, which zeal and perseverance cannot remove.

A man seldom suspects that it is in his power to advance or retard the millennium—that, by correcting himself in the first place, and then by his influence on his family and all who come within his reach, he can hasten on the blessed consummation,—or, by fostering in himself and others a proud, vindictive, ambitious disposition, he can throw obstacles in the way of its advancement. He may say, “I am but a drop in the ocean.” True; and while he continues in the ocean, he may be a very insignificant drop;

but when he comes out from the ocean and plainly avows his sentiments, he may do incalculable good. A small cause may produce a great effect, and a small cause may prevent that effect. A single spark may set a whole city on fire, but a *single drop of water* may extinguish that spark. Little did Luther think, when he posted his famous theses on the church-door in Wittenburgh, that he was lighting up a fire which would in time consume the mighty fabric of Roman Catholic superstition, and that his power would be felt to the ends of the earth.

There was a time, when antimonianism was a very common heresy in the church. A sinner was told that he must wait God's time, and that he could do nothing of himself. I have seen a book which has in it this passage:—"The most diligent attention to the means of grace affords no more hope of salvation, than the most profligate life." Christians have now generally abandoned such sentiments, so far as individuals are concerned; but with respect to nations, they still adhere to them, for they practically say that the most diligent attention to the means of abolishing the custom of war, give no more hope of preserving peace, than the utmost exertions to keep up a military spirit in the country. They are for waiting God's time, as though his time was not now. "Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation." Whenever a sinner will, he may turn from his wicked ways; and so may a nation. God has extended his promises to both. Those who seek shall find; "and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened;" and this is as applicable to a nation as to an individual. Let the church but do her duty; "let her arise and shine, her light being come;" let her shake off the filth and blood which now defile the skirts of her garments, and come out from the world, and openly denounce the wicked custom of war, and she will be more terrible to ambitious conquerors, than an army with banners.

## SECTION VI.

### *Christians become weary in well doing.*

ANOTHER obstacle to the progress of the principles of Peace is, that Christians and philanthropists are too often weary in well doing.

When the success of any good cause depends on the patient, laborious, and protracted exertions of those who undertake it, and much time elapses before they reap the benefit of their labours, they are very apt to relax their zeal; and if they do not actually give up the cause in despair, they complain bitterly of the weariness of the way, and often cease to exert themselves.

The end of all feeling is, or should be, *action*. If we neglect to *act* after we have felt, we shall soon cease to feel. This is agreeable to a law of our nature. The philanthropist who acts upon the excitement, becomes more philanthropic. In the last end of Howard's glorious career, his philanthropy shone brighter than at its commencement. In fact, our passive sensations are weakened by the repetition of impressions, just as our active propensities are strengthened by the repetition of action.

When a man has made a sacrifice to promote any good cause, he will generally feel an attachment to that cause, which will be strong in proportion to the magnitude of the sacrifice. A husbandman who has ploughed, harrowed, and sowed, will wait patiently for the fruits of his labours; but he who expects to reap only the spontaneous bounties of nature, will soon become impatient and hopeless, if he does not perceive strong evidence of his being gratified.

It must be confessed that there are instances in which those who have laboured well in the cause of Peace, have been weary in well doing, and have felt disposed to give up the cause in despair. It becomes such to

examine and see whether no impure motive has intruded itself among their better thoughts—whether a love of distinction or worldly gain has not been lurking among their motives. If this has been the case, it is no wonder if their disappointment has caused their defection. We have reason to be thankful, however, that the instances of those who have been *very* active in the cause, but who have left it, have been so few.

I intended that my remarks should chiefly apply to such as have only *felt* and never *acted* in the cause, and to those who have done very little, and much less than their consciences have told them that they ought to do to promote it.

Then let every friend of Peace *do* something to help the cause, and do it *now*. Let ministers of the gospel preach on the subject of Peace, and give their people an opportunity to contribute of their substance.

## SECTION VII.

### *The glory of the American Revolutionary War.*

ONE of the most formidable obstacles to the cause of Peace in this country (America) is the glory of the Revolutionary War.

At present I shall only attempt to show, that the prejudices in favour of the war of the Revolution are unfavourable to the advancement of the kingdom of the Prince of Peace, and that some, at least of the prevailing opinions concerning the benefits derived from the war of the Revolution are delusive.

We compare our present flourishing condition and our bright prospects with the situation of our country before the revolution, and we attribute all this prosperity to the success of the war; and from that deduce, an argument in favour of war in general and of defensive war in particular. At the commencement of the Revolution, our population amounted to but three millions; now we number fifteen millions. And we seem to think that the human race would have ceased to multiply if we had remained united to Great Britain; whereas it is altogether probable that the country would have been more populous. Statistical tables show that the war retarded the progress of population very considerably; and this it did, not only by lessening the natural increase, as is the case with all wars, but by preventing emigration. So far as bare population is concerned, I have no doubt the difference would be found in favour of the cause of Peace.

There are other views of the consequences of the war of the Revolution which ought to be examined; and perhaps we should inquire into the moral evils brought on the country by that war. It was accompanied with that deterioration of morals and decline of religion which always attend all war. Infidelity was almost unknown in this country before the Revolution; instances of intemperance were rare; and the sanctity of the Sabbath received a blow from which it has never yet recovered.

In a book entitled BATH-KOL, published "by the First Presbytery of the Eastward," and printed at Boston in A. D. 1783, a frightful picture is drawn of the degraded state of society in "the land of pilgrims," as a consequence of the war of the Revolution. I make a few extracts, and those not the most pointed, but the shortest.

"This Presbytery, taking into serious consideration the present low state of vital religion, the great and general declension in the practice of virtue and piety, and the alarming progress of vice and immorality of every kind," it was "ordered that a committee be appointed," to take the same into consideration and report thereon. The body of the book consists of the report, which takes up about 300 pages, 12mo.

The introduction commences thus: "It has pleased the Sovereign of

the Universe, for eight long years, to continue on America the awful judgment of a bloody and destructive war." It then proceeds to mention some of the consequences of the war, "He must be a stranger indeed in Israel, to whom it remains till now a secret, that the regard for religion, for which New-England was once conspicuous, has vanished from among us in a lamentable degree." "Family religion is a stranger to the dwellings of thousands; and the judgments of Heaven against Sabbath-breaking are pleaded as an argument for continuing in that sin." "And if such outrages against God and religion are called in question, the answer in almost every mouth is ready, *'tis war times.*"

"The youth, bred in the innocence of a rural retreat, that was never heard to defile his tongue with an oath in his life, no sooner gets on board of a privateer, or has spent a few days in the camp, than we find him learned in all the language of hell. The most horrid oaths and infernal curses load and taint the air about him whenever he opens his mouth; and this language passes current as a grace of conversation, as a polish of style that should suffice to dub him a fine gentleman, or as certain proofs of heroism in all the arts of war."

"Benevolence to our fellow-men was perhaps never less cultivated in any country than it seems to be of late among us; hard-hearted indifference to the distress of the poor, the widow, and the orphan, have risen up and seized her throne." "Intemperance in an ungoverned passion for, and an immoderate use of, strong and spirituous liquors, even to the intoxication that degrades human nature below the brutal herd, is become sadly common among us men. Uncleanliness is awfully increased. Anti-nuptial fornication is so frequent and so slightly censured, that it seems almost to be forgotten that it is a crime." "Glaring instances of peculation and breach of public trust are sheltered and uncensured; and private robberies, thefts, and burglaries abound more and more." "Avarice stalks in the streets, or lurks in the corners, and has stained the public roads with inhuman murders." Speaking of infidelity, the report says, "America at last received the infection. There were to be found among the gentlemen of the sword, as well as of the bar, in some of the principal towns in this country, certain persons who had drunk in this poison." "The last war sowed this seed plentifully. Large quantities were imported in the British fleets and armies. Officers in some of our fleets were found valuing themselves on having read Chubb, and being able to prove his book unanswerable."

But it is not necessary to my purpose to magnify the evils or undervalue the advantages, which accrued from the Revolution. The mobs of the present day attempt to justify themselves by the example set them by the heroes of the Revolution; and well they may. We are the creatures of circumstances. Had the American Revolution failed, it would have been a bloody rebellion. As it succeeded, we call it a glorious Revolution.

Are we to look to our own advantage only, and not to the good of the whole? Allowing that the Revolution was best for us, it does not follow that it was best for the whole empire. Did not our politicians boast that, by the Revolution, the British crown lost its brightest jewel? If we are to love our enemy, ought we to rejoice at his loss?

Who can tell the effect on the destinies of the world, had Great Britain and America continued united on equitable terms, with an equal representation allowed us in the British Parliament, and our own independent State governments at home?—and if all the mental energy, bodily suffering, and wealth, which were expended in the war, had been contributed to the good of the world and the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom?—Could not all the advantages of the Revolution have been obtained by

moral means alone, perhaps with some suffering, but not a thousandth part so much as was actually endured?

There is another view which ought to be taken of this subject. We should look at it by the light of eternity. Was the Revolution conducive to the salvation of souls or otherwise? Did it not put an effectual stop to the great revival which began in the time of President Edwards? Did it not introduce infidelity, vice, and immorality? Did it not send many a poor soul to its last account, "with all its imperfections on its head?" Were all the temporal advantages of the American Revolution equal to the value of one immortal soul? Would any one give his own soul for all the advantages of the Revolution? If one such person can be found, then he can easily answer the question of Christ, "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"

The devoted Christian, who is determined to follow the precepts of his Master, let them lead where they may, ought to ask himself these and many similar questions. Perhaps if he should, he would come to the conclusion, that "those things which are highly esteemed among men, are abomination in the sight of God."

But whatever may be our opinion of the American Revolution—its means or its consequences—it ought not to prejudice us against the cause of Peace. War is still an evil, of tremendous consequences, both temporal and eternal, to which the occasional and accidental benefits sometimes accruing from it, are but the "small dust of the balance."

## SECTION VIII.

*The objections that war is necessary to keep down the redundant population of the world—that Peace would furnish no materials for history—that war is necessary to drain off the refuse of society—and that it is necessary to furnish occupation to the younger sons of the nobility,—considered.*

Most of the obstacles to the prevalence of the principles of Peace which I have previously mentioned, are not peculiar to the cause of Peace. Many of them obstruct the progress of other benevolent enterprises; and my remarks on them are chiefly applicable to those who "care for none of these things"—who do not wish to examine a subject, which will be likely to make a demand on their purse, their time, or their moral courage—men, who, like chips and straws, float along with the current, and whose constant cry is, "let us alone."

There is another class of obstacles, which do not arise from any objections to our principles. There are many who allow that our principles are correct, but who excuse themselves from taking any active part in enforcing them, by bringing various objections to any definite operation in the cause. They do not deny that our principles are founded in the Gospel—that no man can follow the example and precepts of Christ, and at the same time render evil for evil, and kill his enemy and send his soul to endless perdition; but they object to putting our principles into operation for the following reasons:—

In the first place, they say that our principles, if carried out, would render the world too populous! Ten or fifteen years ago, it was said that war, with all its attendant evils of slaughter, pestilence, and famine, is necessary to keep down the redundant and overflowing population of the world; but I seldom hear it now, except in the mouth of very ignorant persons. I only mention it to show the advance of Peace principles. Many objections, which were seriously urged a few years ago, and some that are now thought quite formidable, will soon follow this to the "tomb of the Capulets."

Another objection to the progress of our principles; is, that if they



prevail we shall lack materials for history and biography. I really pity the man who prefers the description of a battle, or a duel, or a bull-fight, or a cock-fight, or any fight, to the history of those great events which are silently changing the face of the world, and making the verdure of spring to succeed the desolations of winter. Is there not enough in the history of the Reformation, the progress of foreign missions, the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery itself, the advancement of liberal principles, and the inventions and discoveries of science—the mariner's compass, the telescope, the sextant, and all the wonders which have been brought to light in astronomy, chemistry, geology, and other sciences, to take up all the time we have to spare for reading and study? Have not the arts made a better change in the condition of the world, than ever was made by the sword? The art of printing, the steam-engine, the spinning-jenny, and a thousand other inventions, afford more rational topics for history than all the battles which were ever lost or won. There is to be, or rather there is now, a great change in the character of biography. The world is adopting a new standard of excellency. Plutarch's lives will be left to dust and worms, while the biography of such men as Luther, Faust, Galileo, Newton, Arkwright, Franklin, Bolton and Watt, Wilberforce, Fulton, Cæveland, Silliman, and a host of other names, will receive the attention of the biographer. But this objection is now so seldom urged, that I shall bestow on it no further notice.

Another of these old objections to the operations of Peace Societies, is, that war is necessary to drain off the refuse of society. It is many years since I have heard this cruel and hard-hearted objection made use of. But it is now so generally allowed that where war sends one sinner to his last account, it creates ten, and that it fits men for the place of torment and then sends them there, that I dismiss the objection with a short notice.\*

Another objection to the progress of Peace principles, which was very common about the close of the last war, and which began to be revived a little, when lately there was danger of a war with France, among those who consider themselves the aristocracy of the country, arises from the fear, that if our principles prevail, their sons will be thrown out of employment.† They say, "If wars were to cease, what would become of our sons, who have been educated at West Point?" Objections of this kind are not so common in this country as they are in England, where the younger sons of the nobility enter the army or the church, according as their family connexions may be with a general or a bishop; and the people are taxed enormously for their support: but while the people complain bitterly of tithes and church-rates, they make but little objection to the millions expended in military preparations; so much more do men love earthly glory than future happiness.

## SECTION IX.

### *The natural passions of the human heart.*

THERE is another objection, which some persons propose. They say that *the natural passions of the human heart must be eradicated* before the friends of Peace can have any hope of success.

\* In proof that the army is a school of vice and crime, Mr. Ellice stated in the British House of Commons, that one-tenth of the soldiers had been committed for crime to the public jails in the course of two years, while the annual committals in England and Wales were only one in 500 of the general population including the soldiery; thus it appears, of the army one in twenty are annually committed for crime!

† This war was happily prevented, through the timely and judicious mediation of our late revered Monarch; William IV. Ages to come will consider this as one of the most glorious acts of his reign, and there were many, which will embalm his memory in the grateful recollection of posterity.—Ed.

That this obstacle should be thrown in the way of the cause of Peace, more than any other benevolent cause, shows that those who make the objection, have not well examined the subject. It is equally applicable to the cause of temperance, abolition of slavery, or any other good cause. It may even be brought against preaching the Gospel and foreign missions. But it is not true, that the passions of the human heart must be eradicated before these benevolent objects can be obtained. The passions were implanted by God in the human heart for wise and benevolent purposes; and I do not know that there is one of them which we should wish to spare. The misfortune is, that the natural passions and instincts have been perverted from their right use. They were meant for self-preservation, the continuance of the species, and rational enjoyment; but, by the fall, they were perverted; and what before was good, became the occasion of evil. The object of Christian and benevolent operations is, to restore the fallen race of man to its original purity, as far as is practicable on this side of the grave.

The great success which has attended the exertions to reform religion, put a stop to the slave-trade, promote the cause of temperance, of emancipation, and other good objects, shows that much good may be effected without eradicating the natural passions of mankind.

We are taught in the word of God to believe that the passions of mankind will be tamed. In the figurative language of prophecy, we read that "the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fating together, and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed together; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp; and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice's den. They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea," (Isaiah xi. 6—9.) Now, if this is to be done, I ask *how* is it to be done? Are we to expect some stupendous miracle, or some new dispensation? Or is the Christian religion as it is, adequate to the end proposed; and are the means which are now made use of by the friends of Peace to enforce the precepts of the Gospel, and to make them bear on communities and nations, the proper steps to be taken to bring about the millennium? If not, I should like to know what are the suitable means, and I will be content to drop those used hitherto, and adopt the new ones. A state of permanent and universal Peace is to be brought about by the action of mind on mind, and of opinion upon opinion, until nations are induced to take measures to settle disputes, which may arise between them, and which they may not be able to settle themselves, in the same way as peaceable individuals settle their disputes—by arbitration. I consider a congress of nations as the end, and not the means of accomplishing this great change. When all the individuals of a nation are changed, the nation itself is changed; and when a majority of individuals are changed, the whole nation acts according to the will of the majority; but the opinion of an individual may be changed on this subject, and that the opinion of a whole nation, or at least a majority of a nation may not be changed. Nevertheless, he who has been instrumental in changing the opinion of a single individual, has done something to hasten the time when the nations shall learn war no more.

But still there is a further objection. It may be said that it is not enough that the opinion of one nation should be changed: it is necessary to change the opinion of the whole world, before we can insure permanent and universal Peace. How is the opinion of the whole world to be changed? Is it not by the same means that the opinion of individuals is changed?

Will not the general opinion of one nation have an effect on another nation, just as the opinion of one individual has an effect on another individual? Has not Great Britain had a wonderful effect on this country, in the cause of emancipation? and has not this country had an equal effect on Great Britain, in the cause of temperance? Has not Great Britain moved the whole Christian world, by her efforts to abolish the slave-trade? and has not this country done the same in its efforts to abolish intemperance? It is not necessary to the success of our cause that the whole world should be moved *at once*. The progress of moral light ever has been, and always will be, gradual. Let Great Britain and America adopt the peace principles, and they not only will keep peace between themselves, by leaving their disputes to arbitration, as has already been done, but this policy will have an effect on France and other nations; and it will induce a nation to lend its aid to prevent war among its neighbours. Had it not been for the progress of peace principles in Great Britain, we should at this moment have been engaged in a bloody war with France; and all this has been done without eradicating the human passions.

It is in the power of the church of Christ to put an end to the wars in Christendom whenever she shall choose to do it. Let the church give her testimony *against* war as unequivocally as she has heretofore given it in *favour* of war, and the savage and unchristian custom will be abolished in those countries where Christianity has an influence. The ecclesiastical bodies in Great Britain have not only given their testimony against slavery in the British dominions, but some of them are exerting an influence in this country, by sending messages and delegates to our religious conventions. Let us return the compliment, and send messages and delegates to them, enforcing the principles of Peace: and while they remonstrate against the slavery of the black man in this country, let us, in brotherly love, point out to them the greater slavery of the white man in their own country; for there is not a consistent Christian who would not rather be a whip-galled slave on a rice plantation, than an impressed seaman on board a British man-of-war. What man is there that has embraced the principles of Christ who would not rather suffer himself than make others suffer? or who would not endure all the ills of negro slavery rather than send a fellow-creature to eternal perdition? But, alas, we see the mote in our brother's eye sooner than the beam in our own eye.

From the success which has already attended the cause of Peace, its friends have every encouragement to press forward, and exert themselves to restore the human passions, corrupted by the custom of war, to their primitive purity and utility, as far as can be done with our fallen nature.

## SECTION X.

*The objection, that no special effort is necessary, considered.*

A GREAT obstacle to the success of the cause of Peace originates, not in any objection to our principles, but in the opinion that *no special effort is necessary*, that the ordinary preaching of the Gospel is fully sufficient of itself to abolish the custom of war. "Make all men Christians, and wars will cease of themselves," say the objectors.

This is a formidable obstacle to the success of Peace Societies, because the objection is made by pious and good men, who acknowledge our principles to be correct, but who make use of it to quiet their consciences, while they refuse to us their countenance and co-operation. The objection allows on the face of it, that war is inconsistent with the Gospel; for if it be not, if the Gospel sanctions war in any case whatsoever, how will preaching the Gospel put an end to it? If the Gospel allowed of fornication

tion, adultery, theft, or murder, in any case, how would the preaching of the Gospel ever put an end to those sins?

I fear there is something wrong in those ministers of the Gospel, who make use of this objection to excuse themselves for refusing to take an active part in this great work. I will give an instance. A preacher of the Gospel once said to me, "Sir, I cannot join you; your principles are too low—far below the Gospel standard. Now I go further than you do, for I am opposed to *all* war on all occasions." "Well, sir," I replied, "have you ever preached on that subject?" "Why, no; almost half the male members of my church are militia officers, and I should injure my usefulness." "Then, sir, you are the very man to preach these principles; 'Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' How can you say you go further than I do, when you have never moved an inch?" The minister was offended, and withdrew his subscription from the Peace Society. This is not a singular case; I have known many who never subscribed, and have discouraged others from subscribing, on the plea that the ordinary preaching of the Gospel is sufficient to put an end to the custom of war, but who have never preached a sermon against war, nor ever given an intimation in *any* sermon that they are opposed to it. If there is not insincerity in such conduct, there is certainly inconsistency. I acknowledge that by preaching the whole Gospel truth on this subject, a minister lays himself liable to persecution; but if the fear of man prevents his declaring the whole counsel of God, is he a good soldier of the cross? and how can he answer it to his Master?

Is not this objection as valid against any benevolent enterprise as against the cause of Peace. But daily experience confutes this reasoning. The Gospel has been preached these eighteen hundred years; and yet to the present day, good men have engaged in war, and prayed for the success of their arms, and have got up from their knees, and gone out and shot down their fellow-creatures, and sent immortal souls—each worth more than an empire—to endless perdition; and the church has looked on with approbation, and offered her prayers for victory, and sent out her chaplains, and consecrated monuments of war, and her members have even taken the instruments of death into their own hands and joined in the bloody conflict. The first Indian killed at Lovell's fight was shot and scalped by a minister of the Gospel. Without a great change, both in preaching and practice, when are we to expect wars to cease? I am happy to say that a change has already commenced, and more than a thousand ministers, of the different denominations of Christians, are now pledged to preach in favour of the cause of Peace at least once a year; and already we see the happy effects.

Were there no Christians engaged in our two wars with Great Britain, on both sides? It is related of a church in Vermont, near the Canada line, and composed partly of Canadians, that during the revolutionary war, the members partook of the sacrament together on the Sabbath; and before the next Sabbath these Christian members of the same church were engaged in battle, sending one another to their last account, to appear before their awful Judge, red with their brother's blood.

I acknowledge that the number of pious persons in an army is comparatively small; the temptations are so many, and the prevalence of the vicious characters so great, that it may seem no inconsiderable praise and felicity to be free from dissolute vice; and the few who do escape should be reckoned heroes indeed, and highly favoured of Heaven. Yet pious persons send their children to military academies, to learn the art of human butchery and thereby expose them to all these temptations. Few, indeed, have the courage, like Captain Thrush, of the British Navy, to resign their commis-

sions, and give up their pay, because, on examination, they have found that war is utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel. I believe that British officers, especially in India, have put off their red coats during a temporary peace, and put on their black ones, and taken furlough to go and preach the Gospel to those very nations they had just been fighting against, and who would again return to their bloody work as soon as orders for war should arrive from government. What inconsistency would there be in it for a fighting Christian? If it be right to fight the natives, and right to preach the Gospel to them, where is the great harm in the same person doing both alternately? But how long must *such* a Gospel be preached before wars will cease?

But does any one say that Christians should be allowed to murder one another, and destroy unbelievers, until all men become Christians? Should nothing be done in the mean time to set a better example to the heathen, and shew them the wonderful loveliness of the Christian religion? If any should say that the preaching of the Gospel by ordained ministers is amply sufficient to abolish the custom of war without peace societies, peace tracts, and periodicals, agents, conventions, speeches, resolutions, newspaper essays, and all the other means which are made use of to act on public opinion in favour of the cause of Peace, as well as the cause of temperance, why, then, if they are ministers, let them preach on the subject, and preach often. But, alas! for consistency, those ministers who object to peace societies and rely on preaching alone, are generally the very persons who never preach at all on the subject.

A great reason of the general prevalence of this opinion is, that men have mistaken the means for the end. They say, Make all men Christians, and wars will cease; while we say, You must abolish war before you can make all men Christians. War is the greatest obstacle to the conversion of the heathen and the prevalence of vital piety in Christian countries; and therefore it is the duty of every Christian to do what he can to put an end to it.

Since writing the above, I have received a copy of the Prize Peace Essay of the Bengor Theological Seminary. The author has some excellent remarks on the subject; I add the following:—

“The grand measure to be employed for the abolition of war, as of any evil, is the promulgation of Christianity. But the universal promulgation of Christianity cannot be effected at once. Must we remain idle, in regard to the peace enterprise, until this vast work is fully accomplished, and the world is evangelized? As well might Wilberforce have aimed at the extinction of the slave-trade *only* through the thorough Christianization of the British people! As well might it be affirmed that we may hope to effect the *reformation* of a dissolute friend only by effecting his *regeneration* in the orthodox sense. The world must be taken as it is. A good enterprise must not be suffered to languish, because it cannot be prosecuted in just the way we wish. Effective means may be employed for the abolition of many an evil, under the full sanction of Christianity and in full accordance with its principles, while itself is not *visibly* engaged as their antagonist.”

## SECTION XI.

### *Fear of consequences.*

THERE is a large class of objections against the cause of Peace, which are urged by those who cannot deny the conformity of our principles with the religion of Christ, “in the abstract,” but which are suggested by the *fear of consequences*, should the principles of peace be adopted in the present state of society.

One of the most powerful objections which arises from this cause, is the fear that, if a whole nation should adopt the pacific principles laid down in the Gospel, it would become an easy prey to other nations. They say, for instance, "If we, in this country, should adopt the pacific policy, we should be immediately subjugated by Great Britain." If you ask the objector, "If the British nation should adopt the pacific policy, would they be in danger from us?" "Oh, no," is the reply. But what reason is there to believe that we are so much better than they? If they would be safe from us, why should we not be safe from them?

But our main inquiry should be, whether the principles of peace be agreeable to the precepts of the Gospel; and not, what would be the consequences of acting up to the principles of him whom we call our Master. If the wisdom of man be superior to the wisdom of God, we should have no need of a revelation from heaven. Our Master tells us, not to fear "those who have power to kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do; but to fear him who, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell." Had Daniel acted on the fear of consequences, he would have ceased praying, at the command of Darius. Had the three children acted on the fear of consequences, they would have worshipped the golden image. Had Paul acted on the fear of consequences, he never would have gone up to Jerusalem, where he knew that bonds and imprisonment awaited him. Would the apostles and the primitive Christians, that "noble army of martyrs," have preached Christ crucified, if they had been moved by a cowardly fear of consequences? Would not Maximilian, Marcellus, Taracus, and a host of other Christian heroes, have consented to enlist in the Roman armies, if they had feared the ignominious death which awaited them more than the displeasure of their blessed Redeemer? God knows how to succour those who trust in him, and to deliver them from the power of the lions, or the fiery furnace, when it shall be most for his glory and the good of his creatures, or to take them to their reward when they have done the work appointed them.

But the danger of making the precepts of Christ the rule of our conduct is not so great as is apprehended. I need not here mention the case of the Quakers in this country, or in Ireland, as they are already familiar to the public. Nor will I be very particular in giving an account of the adventure of Major Gray, who commanded an exploring party sent by the British Government into the interior of Africa. He found that the strongest walled cities in that barbarous country had become a prey to war. At length he came to Barra Cunda, "which was surrounded only by a slight stake fence interwoven with thorn bushes;" and this city was perfectly secure and safe; and no one had molested it. "This arises," says the Major, "from their never engaging in war."

In reference to the attack on Port Cresson, where seventeen of the settlers were murdered and some houses burnt, after getting all the information I can on this subject, I am fully of opinion that this case, so far from weakening the argument in favour of the pacific policy drawn from actual experiment, only confirms it. But, to be protected by the principles of peace, one should be consistent, and put on the *whole* armour of the Christian. A failure in one point may be fatal.

There are many other incontrovertible arguments and facts, which could be brought on this question; but to state them all would require a volume, instead of a single section. After all, I am not pleading the doctrine of expediency, but only attempting to show that following the precepts of Christ is not so dangerous to our temporal welfare as some appear to apprehend.

## SECTION XII.

*The objection, that the time has not yet come to bring forward the cause of Peace, considered.*

ANOTHER objection, against any endeavours, at present, to oppose the custom of war, is raised by those who say, "*the time is not come.*"

Procrastination has been the ruin of thousands of precious souls; yet it is often pleaded by pious men as an excuse for apathy and sluggishness in their Master's service. But I would ask, what reason has any one for saying that the time is not come? Are we, who are now on the stage of action, to expect any better time for *us* to occupy our talent in the cause of peace, rather than to hide it in a napkin, and thereby forfeit the blessing which our Saviour pronounced on the peace-makers, that "they shall be called the children of God?"

I would say to my readers of either sex, if they are young—This is the very time to guard your youthful minds against the delusions of war. Youth are fond of excitement; and the drum, the trumpet, and other instruments of martial music, are calculated for excitement. The books you read are likely to prejudice your minds in favour of war, with all its wickedness and its fatal effects, both temporal and eternal. The pictures and statues which you see, are intended to raise your admiration of those who have figured on the bloody field; and, in fact, almost everything around you in this fallen world, tends to inspire you with a delight in military glory. *Now*, therefore, is the time, before the prejudices of education become indelible. Search the Scriptures, and see if the spirit of war be at all consistent with the spirit of the Gospel. Search, and you will find that "those things which are highly esteemed among men, are abomination in the sight of God." Read the peace publications. Study the subject with a determination to learn your duty. Judge not a cause before you have heard it, lest it should be found folly and shame unto you, both in this life and that which is to come. Seek the things which make for peace, if you mean to enjoy peace of mind and the Saviour's benediction. Give no countenance to war, by attending military parades. Were there no spectators, there would be no military display. A soldier in uniform feels as though he were a head taller when a troop of boys and girls are following at his heels.

Are you past the age of boyhood; You may soon be called upon to do militia duty, and encounter all the temptations of the muster-field, and be exposed to the example of intemperance, profanity, and probably of licentiousness. On your decision may hang your eternal destiny. As you value your immortal soul, I conjure you to keep away from such scenes. *Now* is the time for *you* to decide. If you once submit, it will be difficult for you to refuse hereafter. Make up your mind, and plead the liberty of conscience guaranteed to you by the constitution, and to which you have as good a right as a Quaker, a Shaker, or a Moravian. You may suffer for it; but if you suffer for conscience sake, you will not lose your reward.

Are you a parent? *Now is the time* to determine whether you will bring up your children to follow Moloch or Christ, for they cannot follow both at once. If you are determined to do what you can to promote the cause of peace, and to help on the millennium, see to it that the minds of your children are not poisoned with military toys, or poems, or novels, or plays, which breathe the spirit of war. Your children will be; on this subject, what you make them. Mothers, remember that "those who rock the cradle, rule the world." (See Section 11.)

Are you advanced in life? *Now is the time* to exert yourself for the good of your age, if you have never done it before. Now is the time to

seek the peacemaker's blessing, before you go hence to be no more seen. Would you, an aged person, die without having done anything to promote the cause so dear to the heart of your Redeemer? How can you go to heaven, and tell him that you lived a long life, and you often heard the blessing which he pronounced on the peacemakers, but you never offered a prayer to obtain it.

I must confess that our opponents mean that the right time has not come, with respect to the world at large, in which to push the peace enterprise. They say that, *in the present state of society*, it would not be safe to adopt the Gospel principles, and we must wait until the state of society is improved, and mankind become more inclined to peace, before it will be right to disseminate peace principles.

There is a great absurdity on the very face of this objection. It is to improve the state of society and incline mankind to peace, that the friends of peace endeavour to enforce their principles, both by precept and example. If the state of society were such as they wish to have it before any effort were made, there would be no need of the effort, for the work would have already been done. As well might it have been said that the time is not come to send Bibles and missionaries to the heathen.

What better time than the present can we expect to promote the great object of abolishing the custom of war? The world is now hushed to peace. There is scarcely a speck of war in the horizon.\* The world is at peace, not from principle, but from expediency. A long, bloody, and expensive war among the nations of Europe, has exhausted their resources and impoverished the people, and they are tired of war. Fatigued and drunk with blood, the monster, war, seeks repose to fit himself for another conflict. Now is our time. Let us make haste and shear off his locks while he sleeps, and rid the world of him for ever. Now may be the only opportunity for centuries to come.

But some say, "The world is now at peace, and what more would you have? It is time enough to bestir ourselves to promote the cause of Peace when we are actually involved in war." What would the world think of the wisdom of that ship-master who should neglect the opportunity afforded him by a calm, to prepare against a storm? Who would praise the wisdom of that philanthropist who, wishing to reform an intemperate neighbour, should wait till he was dead drunk before he attempted to show him his folly and wickedness? Thank God, the nations are now sober, and may be convinced of the folly and wickedness of war: but if we wait until the storm rages, until they are intoxicated with revenge, hatred, a love of military glory, and all the direful passions and lusts from which wars proceed,

"You may as well go stand upon the beach,  
And bid the sea to 'bate its wonted roar.  
You may as well plead pity with a wolf."

No, now is the accepted time: and the man who would put off the reformation of the world to a more convenient season, which he may think a time of war to be, resembles the sluggard, who would not shingle his house in fair weather, because there was no need of it then; nor in a storm, because it was not a proper time. Now we may oppose all war, without being accused of opposing government; and if we use our privilege now, we may oppose any war, hereafter, without the imputation of party spirit.

### SECTION XIII

*Apprehension of pirates and robbers.*

There are many persons who fear that if the principles of Peace were

\* This was written in 1837.



adopted to the full extent which would be justified by the precepts of Christ, literally interpreted, in their most obvious meaning, *we should be unable to apprehend pirates and robbers.*

I must confess that these objections were for some years a great stumbling-block to me, and that it was not until after deep reflection and meditation that my mind became clear on this subject. And when I consider that it has been only step by step, and feeling my way for a long time that I have been able to surmount them, I cannot expect to bring all my readers at once to agree with me.

The great question seems to be, whether we shall adopt the precepts of Christ, in their plain, evident meaning—a meaning which accords with the precepts which he laid down on all occasions and on all other points; and a meaning which is enforced by the precepts and example of the holy apostles and primitive Christians;—or whether we shall accommodate these precepts to our notions of the fitness of things, and to our own times. I say, *our own times*; for Christians generally allow that these precepts are to be literally interpreted in the millennium, but fear that, *in the present state of society*, it would not be safe to adopt them to their full extent.

In the first place, it becomes us to inquire how far the precepts of the Gospel really do go. These precepts are intended to regulate the heart—the affections. So far as any external action may be perfectly consistent with these precepts, so far it is allowed by our holy religion. Now the law of love does not forbid the exercise of forcible constraint *in all cases*. On the contrary, the exercise of forcible constraint is sometimes required by the law of love. It may be necessary sometimes to use physical force to keep a person, in the delirium of a fever, in his bed. It may be necessary to confine in a strait waistcoat, or even in chains, a madman who scatters abroad “firebrands, arrows and death.” In these cases, the use of physical force may not be contrary to the law of love, but in perfect consistency with it. And when sick man gets well, and the madman is restored to reason, they will thank you for your kindness in interfering.

The principles of Peace, when carried to their utmost extent, not only allow of constraint by physical force, when that constraint is consistent with the law of love, but even enjoin it. But here we stop. This is the end; and if Christians would generally go thus far, and no farther, wars of every kind would be abolished, wherever Christianity had any influence, without disturbing civil government.

Again—a parent may find physical force absolutely necessary to subdue the temper of a stubborn and refractory child; especially before it has come to the age of reason. But the error is, that parents have depended too much on physical force, and too little on moral power. The child has seen passion and anger in the face of the parent, which has only excited similar passions in itself. There has been a disposition in the parent to make the child suffer, rather than suffer himself, and all his stripes have been worse than lost upon the child. This is strikingly illustrated in an affecting story which I have heard, of a father who had chastised his son repeatedly, but he grew worse and worse. He committed a great fault, for which his father took him into a private room to whip him. But the recollection of the bad success which had attended this kind of discipline, melted the heart of the father. “My son,” said he, “what shall I do? All my correction has done no good,” and he wept aloud. “Oh, father,” said the son, “whip me as much as you please, only do not cry.” The work was done. The child was reformed. The great principle of Christianity is to suffer for others, rather than make others suffer.

The fault of civil government has been, that it has acted like an angry

vindictive parent; and its punishments have seldom or never reformed a criminal.

But although I allow that physical force may be used to a great extent without violating the law of love, I do not think that it ought to be carried in any case, to the extent of depriving a fellow-creature of his life, and sending his soul to a miserable eternity. No circumstances whatever can justify it under the Gospel dispensation.

After these general remarks, I proceed to take up the case of pirates and highway robbers. We have encouraged piracy and robbery on a large scale. We have sent our privateers and public armed vessels for the express purpose of robbery and slaughter. The property of the innocent trader is seized on the high sea; and if he resists, he is shot dead, agreeably to the law of nations in Christendom. When our ships return laden with plunder and prisoners, they are hailed with joyful acclamations, and the robbers are honoured and applauded.

The custom of war has brought these evils of piracy and highway robbery upon us; and shall we use the actual existence of an evil as an argument for the continuance of a custom which has brought it upon us? If there were no spirit of war in the community, there would be no pirates nor highway robbers.

But is there no way of overcoming evil except by evil? Moral resistance is much more effectual than physical resistance; and if I had room, I could adduce many instances in which moral resistance has been tried with complete success. True, it is not always successful, but it fails less frequently than the other; and a Christian should consider that he ought to obey the precept of his Master under all circumstances, and leave the result with him.

As I cannot do justice to this subject in one section, I propose to defer the case of mobs to my next; and after that to take up the interference of peace principles with civil government generally.

## SECTION XIV.

### *Suppression of mobs.*

I AM now to take up the subject of *suppressing mobs by physical force*: for those who object to our principles say, "If they were generally to prevail, there would be no way of putting down mobs, and therefore the peace enterprise should be abandoned—or at least, its supporters must give up their ultraism."

It would be a sufficient answer to this objection, to say, if our principles prevail, there will be no mobs. Did any one ever hear of a mob of Quakers? The spirit of a mob is the spirit of war. It is an attempt to overcome evil—or what the mob may think to be evil—with evil; and those who oppose the mob with deadly weapons, adopt the doctrine and follow the example of the mob; for they too attempt to overcome evil with evil; and are even worse than the mob, for the mob seldom use deadly weapons until they are attacked.

There are but two master-spirits abroad in the world with respect to this subject. One is the spirit of war, which attempts to overcome evil with evil, and is inherent in our corrupt natures. The other spirit is the spirit of peace and love;—the spirit of Christ, who taught his disciples to overcome evil with good. This is not natural to the human heart. It descended from Heaven, and is accounted foolishness by the world. That a change from the principles of war to the principles of peace is attended with difficulties, I acknowledge; but, for the most part, they are only imaginary—perhaps wholly so. "There is a lion in the way;" but if any one has the courage to approach him in the way of his duty, like the pilgrim, he

will find him chained. Of two evils, we should choose the less; and perhaps both may be avoided by God's blessing on judicious means. Let us trust to the wisdom of God, rather than to our own; and obey his precepts, however we may fear the consequences. Let us "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly," and "leave off contention before it be meddled with," and leave the consequences to God.

There was a time when the torture and the rack were thought to be the best means of preventing crime. The criminal was broken on the wheel, stretched on the rack, crucified, and hung up alive with a hook thrust through his ribs, and left to expire in torments. This was thought to be the best remedy for crime; and it gratified the diabolical passions of a corrupt nature. Heresies in religion were visited by much the same means, but exceeding them in protracted cruelty. Torment was thought the best remedy for evils in the church; and a man's body was burned for the good of his soul. The world has at length found out its error: and though I fear there is not yet much love to heretics or criminals, the law of violence is no cure for the evil it would remedy. Men have grown wiser in the above-mentioned particulars, and torture has been abandoned; but they still continue to use the sword as a sovereign remedy for certain other disorders of the body politic. But is there no other? Has Christ, the great Physician of souls, provided no other remedy than brute force, suited only to govern the brute creation, and not always the wisest, even then? When we have abandoned the law of violence, we shall seek other remedies, and not till then. Is the rich man in danger of losing his property or life by a lawless mob?—let him seek rather to *prevent*, than cure the evil by such hasty remedies as are often worse than the disease. Let him give his money liberally for the support of common and Sabbath schools, preaching the Gospel, instructing the ignorant, and relieving the necessitous. It will be for his *interest* to see that all the children in the country are religiously educated, whether he value religion for himself or not. This is the proper preventive of mobs, the true antidote, and the only remedy worthy of a Christian people.

There is no telling what may be the consequence of putting down a mob by the cannon's mouth. Remember the ever-memorable fifth of March, when a Boston mob was put down by British regulars. The soldiers acted according to law, and were pronounced not guilty, by a jury of their countrymen; but look at the consequences. The party which, for a time, was put down by the law of violence, finally triumphed, and a separation of the British empire ensued; an event which, however dreaded then, Americans now boast of, and build monuments to commemorate it. The suppression of another mob by violence may be followed by another separation of the empire, equally dreaded now, and equally applauded hereafter.

The way in which Christ conquered the powers of darkness, was by suffering; and the only lawful way for a Christian to conquer, is by suffering when he cannot overcome evil with good. This would very rarely be the case, even in barbarous and heathen countries, and still more rarely in Christian countries. But when a Christian cannot succeed in overcoming evil with good, he must suffer; his Saviour did so from choice; all but one of his apostles did so; the primitive Christians did so; they all overcame evil by suffering; and by that very suffering they accomplished their object—the spread of the Christian religion over the known world, in defiance of the power of the Roman government.

I know that to many this appears a strange doctrine, and as new as strange. But it is not new. It is as old as Christianity; it cannot be

denied without denying Christianity, and it must prevail before ever we shall see the millennium. Many changes must take place before that time. The law of violence must be abandoned. Not only must religious persecution and the torture of criminals be given up, but the use of the sword, and many other unchristian practices. We now look upon religious persecutions and the torture of criminals and witches as belonging to the dark ages; but before the millennium comes, the present age will be reckoned among them.

If men duly considered the infinite value of the soul, they would not destroy a single life to save a whole city from conflagration. I do not suppose that this argument will weigh much with men of the world. If they do not value their own souls, it is not to be expected that they will value the souls of their enemies. But the Christian values the souls of all alike, and would not send one of them to endless perdition to save his own life, much less his property. If, then, an attempt is made to put down a mob with deadly weapons, a Christian should have nothing to do with it. So long as God suffers the law of violence to prevail in the earth, he may suffer a contrary violence to suppress it.

But I am asked, "What would you do, if an armed mob were coming to plunder and burn your house, murder yourself and your wife, ravish your daughters, and burn all your children at the stake?" And imagination is racked to invent a case, however improbable, in which a Christian would be justified in resorting to deadly weapons, in hopes, if overcome by his feelings he gives up the case, to found an argument on his concession, in favour of war. But let us examine the Gospel. What did Christ and his apostles do in cases which come nearer to the supposition above stated, than any can be expected to do in these days? When the chief-priests, and scribes, and elders raised a mob consisting of "a great multitude," to come out against him, did he use the sword? Did he not rebuke Peter for using it, and denounce the use of the sword for ever after? Did the apostles or early Christians use the sword in similar cases? No; and both He and they left us an example that we should walk in their steps.

Much more may be said against opposing a mob by deadly weapons; but what I have said is, I think, enough to convince a candid christian.

## SECTION XV.

*The objection that, if the principles of Peace were generally adopted, it would destroy civil government, considered.*

I COME now to the last objection to the prevalence of Peace principles, which belongs to the class mentioned in my thirteenth section. It is also the last which I mean to discuss, before I begin to answer objections to our principles taken from the Scriptures. The objection, which is the theme of this essay is, *if the principles of Peace were generally adopted, it would destroy civil government.*

This objection looks so formidable on the first view of it, that I wonder our opponents have not made more use of it long ago. Probably they would have done so, had they thought at all on the subject; but those who do think, and think candidly, mostly come over to our side.

I might evade this subject, as it is not necessarily connected with the cause I advocate. It relates to the internal regulations of a nation, and has no connection with international war. Opposing the custom of war is our proper province; and perhaps we should leave this subject for the theologians and civilians to decide. If the magistrate should be allowed to use the sword in civil cases, where the accused is considered innocent until he is condemned by a jury of his equals,—I might almost say of his

choices,—and by laws he has consented to live under; all this would not justify international war. Even though we should consent, for argument's sake, that a ruler is justified in punishing, even unto death, those over whom the providence of God has placed him, this would not justify a nation in taking the sword against another nation, over whom they have no jurisdiction. The principles of Peace, as laid down in the Gospel, even when carried to their utmost extent of non-resistance, do not at all infringe on the *rights* of the magistrate, nor interfere with the *proper* functions of civil government.

In the first place, it must be conceded that if everybody adopted the principles of Peace to the utmost extent, it would leave nothing for the judicial part of civil government to do; for the law of love would take the place of the law of violence; offences would be rare and would be forgiven,—or at the most, the offenders would only bear the natural punishment of their offences in the disgrace they would bring on themselves; there would be few or no crimes to punish; the jails would be without tenants; pillories, dungeons, the gallows and the gibbet would follow in the wake of thumb-screws and racks, the wheel and the fagot; and would only be remembered as the mementos of a barbarous and bygone age. Yet all these were once thought necessary to the support of government and the security of the public. I very well remember when the whipping-post, the stocks and the pillory, *adorned* the chief place of concourse in my native village. Already they would seem strange appendages to the court-house of a shire-town.

I further concede, as I did in my thirteenth section, that physical force may sometimes be used in perfect consistence with the law of love. It is only when physical force is carried so far as to take life, that I am opposed to it. If any one contends that this can be done with perfect consistency with the law of love, I must confess, I cannot agree with him. I cannot conceive how sending souls into eternity, either by the sword of the magistrate, or war, offensive or defensive, is consistent with the precepts, "love your enemies," "resist not evil," "overcome evil with good," &c.

That the time is coming when the law of love is to take the place of the law of violence, and mankind be governed by moral power instead of physical force, is evident to me from four considerations. 1. The law of violence is much less used now than it was formerly. The criminal code of most Christian nations has undergone a great change for the better, since the cessation of the late extensive and bloody wars of Europe; and there is no reason to doubt that, as the world advances in civilization, refinement and Christian morals, this change will go on. 2. We never now think of applying the law of violence to any case of church discipline. In refined society, disgrace is infinitely more feared than physical punishment—often more than death itself. 3. As religious light increases, the principles of Peace will advance: and wars, which always have been the hot-bed and nursery of crime, will gradually cease; and when the laws of God shall no longer be trampled under foot by nations, with the consent and countenance of the church of Christ, individuals will be more in dread of offending the great Avenger of all wrongs. 4. The prophecies plainly predict that such a time is to arrive. It is worthy of remark, that the cessation of crime is to be a consequence of the abolition of war. The same prophecy which predicts the abolition of war, predicts also that of the passions of wicked men—under the beautiful similitude of taming the ferocity and completely changing the nature of ravenous creatures and beasts of prey. Thus the glorious and genial reign of the Redeemer is predicted (Isaiah xi. 1—9.) "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots: And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and under-

fear of the Lord ; and shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord : and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears : But with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth : and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins. The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid ; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together ; and a little child shall lead them," &c.

When wars shall cease, private violence will cease also. Again, in Hoa ii. 18, the prophet, speaking in the place of God, uses the same figurative language, with regard to the safety of the righteous from the assaults of the wicked, as it respects either individuals or nations. "And in that day will I make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field, and with the fowls of heaven, and with the creeping things of the ground ; and I will break the bow, and the sword, and the battle out of the earth, and will make them to lie down safely." There are many prophecies of a similar import with which the devout reader of the Bible must be familiar. I think the great error has been, that Christians have looked upon the cessation of war, as a *consequence* of general holiness, instead of the *cause* of it. How can the church expect general holiness while she allows a custom which is the fruitful mother of every abomination ? I allow that there is in this, as well as in other reforms, a re-action between cause and effect. Holiness and Peace go hand in hand. As wars become less frequent, crimes will gradually cease ; and as men become more inclined to holiness, they will be less inclined to war. But this could not be the case, if waging war were at all consistent with the Christian virtues.

The great question is, How shall we behave, until God grants us the millennium, in answer to prayer and our exertions ? Shall we continue to overcome evil with evil ? or shall we overcome evil with good ? Shall we, for an injury received, take vengeance into our own hand ? or employ the magistrate as the minister of vengeance ? or shall we leave vengeance to Him who hath said, "Vengeance is mine ?" Let every one answer these questions according to the dictates of his own conscience.

But, however Christians may settle these questions, so far as it relates to themselves, another question remains. What is the duty of a magistrate, in case of a violation of law ? I answer, let him exercise his functions in a manner consistent with the law of love : but how far he can use physical force consistently with that law, must depend upon circumstances ; and men perhaps will never agree on the circumstances which would warrant a resort to violence. This difference of opinion ought not to interfere with the cause of Peace.

Civil government is necessary, and probably always will be so, even in the millennium. It is necessary, to regulate the intercourse of nations, to watch over the health and welfare of the people, to make laws declaratory of what is right and what is wrong, and to give force and efficacy to public opinion. So far is the propagation of the principles of Peace, to their utmost extent, from being subversive of government, they are the only principles on which government can stand, consistently with the liberty of the people.

But is there no way of governing a country except by physical force ? Our churches are not governed by it. It was tried once in the church, in the dark ages, and what bloody scenes and awful sins it caused ! The public are not generally governed by it. Not one man in a thousand fears corporal punishment for crime, so much as he does the disgrace attached to it.

*Tract No. XIII., Part II. of the Society for the Promotion  
of Permanent and Universal Peace.*

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**OBSTACLES AND OBJECTIONS**  
**TO**  
**THE CAUSE OF PERMANENT**  
**AND**  
**UNIVERSAL PEACE,**  
**CONSIDERED.**

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**BY**  
**A LAYMAN.**

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# OBSTACLES AND OBJECTIONS TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

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## SECTION XVI.

*Objections to the Principles of Peace brought from the thirteenth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.*

FINDING my remarks on the obstacles and objections to the cause of peace increasing beyond my first intentions, I had resolved to let what was said in the last section, on the objection that the principles of peace, if generally adopted, would destroy civil government, suffice when I received a communication from a lady, already well known in the benevolent operations of the day, to whose departed brother the cause of peace is under great obligations. As her remarks are very pertinent to the subject, and ought not to be lost to the Christian public, I here insert them in preference to anything of mine. After having made some general observations on peace and war, she continues thus:—

“I shall now endeavour to give my views on this portion of sacred writ, Romans, ch. xiii, because it is a part of the Scriptures wrested more frequently than any other from its true import, in order to countenance the system of war, and delude the perverted reason of man into a belief, that he is only fulfilling the Divine command, when he yields himself as a voluntary agent of ‘the powers that be,’ to go forth to spread devastation and death among those whom he ought to cherish as brethren, and to pray for his fellow-sinners, for whom Christ poured out his precious blood—those who are heirs of a glorious immortality; or of an inconceivable state of eternal misery.

“I presume it is known that the division of the Bible, into chapters and verses is purely arbitrary, and is comparatively a modern invention, being utterly unknown to the ancient Christians; the want of judgment manifested in the partition, which often destroys the relation between passages closely connected, must be obvious to every attentive reader.

“Nothing is more important than to keep in view the supreme sovereignty of God, and that his laws must be paramount to those enacted by man; the Scriptures afford some striking illustration of the distinction between rendering that obedience to a magistrate which violates the command of God, and that passive obedience which submits to suffering for righteousness’ sake. Darius made a decree that ‘whosoever shall ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days, save of thee, O king, he shall be cast into the den of lions.’ What then was the conduct of Daniel? ‘When Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house, and his windows being open towards Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed and gave thanks before his God as he did aforetime.’ He refused obedience to this unrighteous decree, although he had expressly declared, ‘that God setteth up kings,’ because a compliance with it would have been a direct infringement of that law uttered by Jehovah himself from Mount Sinai,—‘Thou shalt have no other gods before me.’ And what was the consequence of Daniel’s preferring his God to his king?—he was cast into the den of lions. Daniel was at this time invested with all but royal authority; ‘he was preferred above the presidents and princes, because an excellent spirit was in him, and the king thought to have set him over the whole realm.’ Had he not been persuaded that it was his



religious duty to submit to 'the powers that be,' when such submission involved no act of rebellion against the supreme authority and mandate of the Almighty, he might have raised an insurrection in the kingdom, and attempted at least to save his life by resistance; but this holy man resigned himself without opposition to be cast into the den of lions; and the God whom he served delivered him thence. Mark his words, ye faithless and unbelieving, ye who bow down to the authority of your fellow worms, and trample under feet the sacred laws of the omnipotent Jehovah, who alone hath power to cast both body and soul into hell—'My God hath sent his angel, and shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me, forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me.' It is true, God does not always choose to work a miracle to save the lives of his faithful servants; if he did, how could sincerity be fully tested? and how could we ever have had the unequivocal testimony now afforded to the church by the noble army of martyrs, of the triumph of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ over the fear of man and the dread of death? From time to time God has exerted his supernatural power to deliver his saints out of the hands of the oppressors: he has done so often enough to satisfy all who put their trust in him that they shall never be confounded, and that all dominion in heaven and in earth is vested in him. Nor let us suppose that there is less of power or of mercy exhibited in sustaining the martyr at the stake, and thus cutting short the work in righteousness, and crowning him at once with the diadem of glory and immortality, than in quenching the violence of fire, or shutting the lions' mouths, that Daniel and his three countrymen were not devoured by the lions, or destroyed by the flames.

"Let us now proceed to examine the context of the chapter under consideration, which contains a remarkably clear and beautiful exposition of Christian duty—'Bless them which persecute you; bless, and curse not. Recompose to no man evil for evil. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good,' Rom. xii. 14—21. Every candid mind will readily acknowledge that in these preliminary remarks, the apostle is very far from giving the slightest encouragement to a warlike spirit; he knew that it would be impossible to live peaceably with all men, because those to whom he was writing were the objects of hatred and malevolence; and they could not infuse into their enemies the spirit of Jesus, with which they ought themselves to be clothed; he therefore tells them to live peaceably with all men as much as in them lay; and it was in their power to bless those who persecuted them; it was in their power to live, as far as regarded themselves, in a spirit of peace and love with all men.

"It is very instructive and interesting to recur to the period and the circumstances under which St. Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans. It was at the time when the city of Rome contained within herself the seeds of civil war and insurrection. It was addressed to Jewish as well as Gentile converts, the former of whom might be peculiarly liable to seek to avenge themselves, because when they were the chosen people of God, they were sometimes used as the instruments of his righteous vengeance upon the heathen. It was written a short time previous to the dreadful persecution of Nero, in which Paul himself perished; he foresaw this trial of the Christian faith, and desired to prepare them for it, and to impress upon them the important lesson given by the Lord Jesus Christ, — 'Resist not evil;' he entreated them to submit to the power of those who could kill the

body, but after that have nothing more that they can do. How touching and how appropriate is his exhortation to them, 'I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God.'

"The expressions, 'there is no power but of God, the powers that be are ordained,' or as it reads in the margin, are ordered 'of God,' are only equivalent with the declaration of our adorable Redeemer, when veiled in that mantle of flesh which he had assumed for our sakes, he stood before a human tribunal, and submitted to receive from the lips of a sinful mortal that sentence of death which consummated the glorious plan of man's redemption. 'Then said Pilate unto him, Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee? Jesus answered, Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.' The powers which ordained his crucifixion were as much 'ordered of God, as the dominion of the blood-thirsty Nero, under whose reign this epistle was written, and written when the disciples of the Prince of Peace, who left an example in this very thing of unresisting submission, were about to be involved in a fearful persecution, in which their pacific principles would be severely tested. The apostle desired to impress upon their minds the necessity of giving place or submitting unto wrath; and quietly, as sheep before their shearers are dumb, after the example of the Lamb of God, surrender their lives rather than seek by any means to avenge themselves; 'whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.' The meaning of this is fully proved by the coming and sufferings of Christ. The apostle Peter, in speaking of this solemn event, saith, 'Him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain.' This deed was done in the hour and power of darkness; but the plan of salvation through the blood of Jesus Christ shed upon the cross, could not, according to the prophecy, have been accomplished but by the hands of wicked men; none other could have slain the Just One.

"The same apostle in his first epistle, which bears the same date as that to the Romans, addressed to the Jewish strangers scattered throughout the Roman provinces, gives the same counsel to them which his brother Paul had given to the Jewish and Gentile converts at Rome. 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.' And he goes on to say, 'For so is the will of God, that with well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.' Oh, my fellow immortals! is murder, rapine, and blood-shed, 'well doing?' Let the fields of Bunker Hill, Brandywine, of Austerlitz and Waterloo, reply—and what do they say? Harken to the deep and solemn response which comes up from the profound abyss of hell, in the weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, of millions whom the demon of war and ambition has cast in thither. And harken to the language of the same epistle: 'For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even *herewith* were ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps: Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously: Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree,

that we, being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness : by whose stripes ye were healed.' (1 Peter ii. 19—24.) Can language more powerfully set forth the absolute necessity of leading a holy life, and of submitting, if needs be, to the sword of the magistrate for 'well doing?'

The magistrate is 'not a terror to good works, but to the evil;' he cannot terrify the soul that is fixed, trusting in God; therefore the apostle saith, 'But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath but also for conscience sake.' His succeeding exhortation seems framed to guard the perverted reason and deceitful heart of man from the snare which the enemy would spread for him. 'Owe no man anything, but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law.' 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' 'Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law,' 'Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ.' Can we obey these holy precepts, and seek the temporal and eternal destruction of those for whom Christ died? Does not war bring forth exclusively the fruits of the flesh—which, as the apostle saith, are indeed manifest,—hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revelling, and such like? Oh, that those, *especially the women* of America, who are giving their encouragement and lending their aid, *in any way*, to cherish the spirit of war in the bosoms of their countrymen, may remember the solemn asseveration contained in the word of God,—'Of the which I tell you before, as I also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.'

"S. M. GRIMKE."

To what my fair correspondent has written on the subject, I would only add. If the doctrine, that the thirteenth chapter of Romans authorized war, had been preached at the commencement of the American Revolution, it would have been more opportune than it is now. But it would have been a very difficult subject to handle. What would our fathers have done with the following, among many other passages which might be quoted? "For this cause pay ye *tribute* also, for they are God's ministers," &c. "Render therefore to all their dues: *tribute* to whom tribute is due; *custom* to whom custom." How could they have refused to pay the *custom-house tribute* of three-pence on a pound of tea? Or how could they be said to be "subject to the higher powers," while they resisted the power which the apostle declared to be the "ordinance of God?" It is singular that the same passage should now be quoted in favour of war, which is one of the strongest arguments in the whole of revelation, to show that the principles of what is called "the holy right of insurrection" and the principles of the Christian religion are at variance. We must give up one or the other, for we cannot, with any consistency, hold to both.

## SECTION XVII.

### *Wars of the Jews.*

I COME now to take up those objections to the principles of Peace which are drawn from the Bible. It would be of no service, to combat objections which might be drawn, either from scripture or reason, against wars of aggression and conquest; for, however the wars of the Jews might have been pleaded in favour of them, there are now but few, in this Christian country, who openly contend that wars of retaliation and revenge can be justified by either the Old or the New Testament; but when one wishes to justify such wars, they are universally called wars of self-defence. If we had engaged in a war with France, to compel her to pay us five millions

of dollars, it would have been called a defensive war. Gengis Khan and Bonaparte called all their wars defensive. The latter invaded Egypt and Russia, if we can believe him, only to defend himself against Great Britain. I find it less difficult to go to the top of the ladder and defend myself there, than to find out the particular round at which I ought to stop. Dr. Johnson said of drinking wine, that total abstinence was more easy to him than moderate drinking; and it will be found that this principle is as applicable to the Peace cause as it is to the temperance cause; and that total abstinence is the only ground on which peace can stand.

The wars recorded in the Old Testament are brought as an argument against our principles. It is said, If the wars of the Jews are justifiable, then war in general may be justified.

To this objection it may be answered, that the wars of the Israelites are to be viewed as Divine judgments on the guilty inhabitants of Canaan. God, had as much right to make use of the children of Israel for the destruction of the Canaanites, as of earthquakes and pestilence. The Israelites were not allowed to make war without asking counsel of God; and when they made war without asking counsel, they were defeated. But when he commanded them to make war, he wrought miracles; and the Israelites were sometimes only the spectators of the Divine judgments. He caused the sea to recede and grant them a passage, but, by the same sea, destroyed their enemies. He rolled back the current of Jordan, to facilitate the invasion of Canaan. He caused the walls of Jericho to fall prostrate, by the use of means in themselves the most inefficient. He caused an army of the Midianites to flee before a detachment of lamps and pitchers. He sent the destroying angel into the camp of the Assyrians, and in the morning they were all dead men. In these cases, and many others, the Israelites had nothing to do but to "stand still and see the salvation of God." These executions of the judgments of God will no more justify war than they will justify any wanton attack of one individual on another, in which he takes upon himself the offices of judge, jury, and executioner. If one can prove the accordancy of war with the Christian religion by the example of the Old Testament saints, then he can prove by the same example, that it is lawful not only to destroy our enemies when found in arms, but that it is lawful to invade a country which never did us any hurt, and destroy all the inhabitants—even the women and children: but "that which proves too much, proves nothing."

Much has, of late, been said of the blessing which Melchisedec bestowed on Abram, when he returned from the slaughter of the kings; but I do not think that this will any more justify war under the Christian dispensation, than the blessing which Israel bestowed on the twelve patriarchs, will justify polygamy and concubinage, from which they sprung. The abettors of war, slavery, and intemperance are very fond of going to the Old Testament for justification; and the abettors of polygamy, concubinage, capricious divorce, and many other practices now considered inconsistent with the Christian religion, have as good a reason to do the same. Allowing that the custom of war was not forbidden in the Old Testament, it does not follow that it is not forbidden in the New. Some things were allowed under the old dispensation, which are now forbidden. Many things were enjoined in the Old Testament from which we are now released.

We live under a new and better covenant; and we ought to keep to the spirit of it. Jesus Christ says, "Resist not evil," "Love your enemies." He reversed many things which were "said by them of old time." He gave us new laws respecting polygamy and divorce; so that what before was permitted, has now become criminal; and many things which were enjoined as duty under the old dispensation, are unlawful under the new. I might mention the stoning of a refractory son, and other cases of a like

nature, the execution of a homicide by the avenger of blood, the marrying of a deceased brother's wife in certain cases. But I do not insist on them, as it would require more space than I have to spare to give them their proper effect, and there is ground enough for the support of our principles without them.

I might adduce many other arguments to show that the toleration of the custom of war, and even the express command to invade a foreign country under the old dispensation, can no more justify war under the Christian dispensation, than the fact that polygamy and slavery were not only tolerated then, but regulated by Divine command, would justify these customs under the "new and better covenant," which we now take as the rule of our conduct.

### SECTION XVIII.

*The objection, that war is not expressly forbidden, by name, in the Gospel, considered.*

I now pass to those objections, which are brought against our principles from the New Testament; one of which is, that *war is not expressly forbidden, by name, in the Gospel.*

To this we answer, that the same plea might be brought in favour of slavery, duelling, suicide, polygamy, gambling, and many other unchristian practices. Our Saviour and his apostles, in their preaching, enforced such fundamental principles as laid the axe at the root of war, duelling, slavery, and every other vice. The Gospel is not so much a code of laws as a *constitution*, or statement of first principles, on which a code of laws might afterwards be erected, suited to every clime and every age.

To have forbidden crimes which then had no existence, would only have hastened on those crimes; and if all crimes were to be enumerated, unenumerated crimes would have been considered no crimes at all. Modern Mohammedans reason in this way when they indulge in the use of distilled spirits. In imitation of our fighting Christians, they say, *Rum is not expressly forbidden, by name, in the Koran.*

Sin comes in clusters. When a man commits one sin, he trespasses not only against one precept of the Gospel, but he sins against many; and in some cases, all of them. When a nation goes to war, it is guilty of anger, revenge, covetousness, robbery, piracy, murder, and all those crimes which necessarily enter into the very nature of war, and form the component parts of the direful mixture; and generally, if not always, in modern times, other ingredients are added, such as Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, profanity, duelling, licentiousness, and a thousand nameless and shameless vices; and there is not one single individual virtue which is spoken of with approbation by Jesus or his apostles, that can possibly be mixed with the poisonous ingredients of that Circean cup, any more than oil will mix with water. How can meekness, mercy, love of enemies, forgiveness of injuries, be practised in war? How can those who are poor in spirit, peace-makers, who resist not evil; who do to others as they would be done by; who flee from persecution rather than resist it; who feed their enemies when hungry, and give them drink when thirsty; who bless those who curse them, and pray for those who despitefully use them and persecute them; who when smitten on one cheek, turn the other; who recompense to no man evil for evil; who avenge not themselves, but rather give place unto wrath; who are not overcome of evil, but who overcome evil with good; who are not vain-glorious, but are long-suffering, gentle, meek; who, as they have opportunity, do good unto all men; who put away all bitterness and wrath and clamour and evil-speaking; who are kind to one another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another; who walk in love; who do nothing through strife and vain glory; but who in lowliness of mind esteem others better than

than themselves; who put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, &c.; who follow peace with all men, and abstain from all appearance of evil; and finally—for I might fill a volume with similar texts—who have the spirit of Jesus in them, and suffer for enemies rather than make them suffer, and die that they may live,—how can the persons who practise these Christian virtues find any place in a camp? Every one knows they would be drummed out of it as nuisances, or more likely would be executed as traitors. In fact, as says the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, “War reverses with respect to its objects, all the rules of morality. It is nothing less than a temporary repeal of all the principles of virtue. It is a system out of which almost all the virtues are excluded, and in which nearly all the vices are included.”

“Those who defend war,” says Erasmus, “must defend the dispositions which lead to war, and these dispositions are absolutely forbidden by the Gospel.” Now, if every ingredient, part and parcel of war, is condemned by the Gospel, it is going further to condemn the whole system than though it had been expressly said, *Thou shalt not go to war*. For the inquiry then would be, what is war—what is meant by the word *war*? Some would say, wars of ambition and conquest are only meant; others would say, wars of retaliation and revenge also are meant; and thus there would be more disputing about what wars were allowed and what forbidden, what is war and what is not, than there is now—just as men now dispute about the meaning of the words in the Divine commands, “Thou shalt not kill,” “Swear not at all.” By which latter command, swearing “is expressly forbidden by name;” yet men do not regard it. If a physician were called to a man dying of a mortification, and he should pronounce that *every limb* of the body was mortified, we should consider the sentence more decisive than though he had barely said a mortification had taken place.

St. James tells us that “war proceeds from the lusts which war in our members.” The text alone would condemn war. But if this text, and all the texts which I have quoted above, and all that might be quoted, do not condemn war, then I should like to know how our opponents would condemn slavery, polygamy, suicide, duelling, gambling, as such things, by the Gospel.

### SECTION XIX.

*The objection that the precepts of our Saviour are only of “private interpretation,” considered.*

Most Christians allow that the precepts which I quoted in my tenth section, as forbidding war, and many others of a like nature, are binding on individuals, and that we ought to obey them so far as they respect our neighbours and countrymen; but they deny that they are binding on nations, or are to extend to our conduct towards foreigners who are separated from us by some range of mountains, sea, or river, or an imaginary line of latitude. But where do they find their authority? Certainly not in the Bible. When Jesus was asked, “Who is my neighbour?” the Jew was answered, that it was the Samaritan, his most deadly national enemy, on whom he was always ready to call down fire from heaven to consume him.

If any man should say that an act which would be a sin in an individual would be no sin in a nation, I should like to know what amount of numbers constitutes a nation. Were Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday a nation? If not, when would they have begun to be a nation, provided successive ships had been cast away on his island, and successive savages enslaved? How populous must the island become before their numbers would sanction sin! The republic of San Marino has been called a nation

for many centuries, and yet its numbers have not exceeded three or four thousand : many of our Indian tribes are much more numerous ; and yet our government allows them to be nations only when it makes treaties with them, but never when it breaks those treaties. Is slavery no sin because it is allowed by the nation ? There is an absurdity in the objection which never can be taken from it until the precise number to which a family, a tribe, or a gang must arrive, before they can be called a nation, shall be determined on.

In an absolute monarchy, the king himself, a single man, declares war, or, as Frederick the Great expresses it, "Kings make war, and leave it to some laborious civilian to assign a plausible pretext for it." In the day of judgment, will God excuse a man for breaking his commands because he wears a crown and has murdered on a large scale ? With man "one murder makes a villain,—millions a hero ;" but "God seeth not as man seeth." In England, a limited monarchy, the king has power, of his own authority, to declare war, though perhaps he never exercises this power without the concurrence of his cabinet. If the cabinet concur, though the number who authorise robbery and murder be somewhat enlarged, will the addition of five or six persons excuse the king or themselves ? Even according to the common consent of writers on the law of nations, every one who engages in an unjust war is a murderer. But with consistent Christians, all wars are unjust, or according to Franklin, "there never was a good war, or a bad peace." But what shall we say to republics, where every man gives his vote and his sanction to war, or withholds them, according to his free will ? Can a republican who sanctions war by voting for those who declare it, claim the exemption of numbers to screen him from the guilt of war ? The answer is too manifest to require an argument.

It is argued in favour of war, that what would be criminal in an individual would be right in a nation, because nations have no tribunal to which they may appeal ; and unless they take the redress of grievances into their own hands, they must go unredressed ; but an individual has such a tribunal. But if nations have no such tribunal, "it is their own fault, for there is another consideration which at once and for ever overthrows the argument of our opponents, which is this : The Gospel does not enjoin on us to "render to no man evil for evil," because we may call on the magistrate to do it for us, but because it enjoins on us the practice of forbearance, love to enemies, and the divine principle of overcoming evil with good.

There is but little sincerity in making this objection, which is used to evade the force of truth rather than to elicit it ; for our opponents are always asking, "What would you do if assailed by an assassin ?" &c., appealing to our animal feelings rather than to our judgment, and thus attempting to justify nations by fictitious cases applicable to individuals, while the whole force of their argument rests on the assumption, that what would be sin in an individual, would be right in a nation.

## SECTION XX.

*The injunction of John the Baptist to the soldiers, to be content with their wages, considered.*

ONE of the principal arguments drawn from the New Testament, on which the defenders of war rest their vindication, is taken from the remarks of John the Baptist to the soldiers who came to him, saying, "And what shall we do ? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man ; neither accuse any falsely ; and be content with your wages," (Luke iii. 14.) It is argued from this passage, that John allowed the soldiers to take their wages, and thereby sanctioned war.

1. I might easily evade this argument by pleading, that the ministration of John was no part of the Christian dispensation, which had not yet commenced; and according to the declaration of our Lord, he who was least in the kingdom of heaven was greater than John the Baptist. But as some sects of Christians think the authority of John to be equal to that of any of the apostles, I admit it for argument's sake. But the apostles themselves were not fully aware of the peaceful nature of the religion of Jesus Christ until "the day of Pentecost was fully come, when they were filled with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven." This is evident from their desire to call down fire from heaven to consume a whole village of the Samaritans, when they were rebuked by their Master, who said unto them, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of, for the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." After the apostles were inspired by the Holy Ghost, they never gave the least countenance to war in any form; but all their precepts inculcated a spirit directly the opposite to war in every particular.

2. A candid inquirer after truth from the word of God does not split texts apart, and taking that part which suits him, reject the other. By this means the Bible may be made to say almost anything. In this case, take the whole sentence together, and what does it say? "*Do violence to no man.*" Now, if all the soldiers in the world would obey the injunction of John the Baptist, and do violence to no man, wars would cease. The Roman soldiers who came to John were stationed in a conquered country to keep the inhabitants in subjection. In this case, if they did not commit robbery and violence, it would have been a rare instance in those days, and not a very common one in ours. They also assisted the publicans in collecting the tribute money; and it is probable that, among other acts of oppression, they *accused people falsely* of not having paid their tax, and thus extorted money from them. Hence the injunction of John, that they should not commit robbery, but be content with their wages, was very appropriate.

3. These were *Roman* soldiers, and consequently idolators; and idolatry constituted a part of their military duty, as they were obliged to worship their standards and the image of Cæsar. If the injunction of John, to be content with their wages, would justify war, it would also justify idolatry; and it would justify all the conquests, tyranny, and oppression of Pagan Rome. But, it is asked, Why did not John take this opportunity to condemn the practice of war? In addition to what has been already said about his own light and knowledge on the subject, I might as reasonably ask, why he did not take this opportunity to condemn idolatry, polygamy, unnatural lust, licentiousness, and all the horrible vices of the Roman camp? His silence on the subject does not prove that he approved of war, any more than its accompanying vices. Certainly his injunction, "*Do violence to no man,*" goes as far to condemn war as any other remark of his to the soldiers did to discountenance any other sin: and the friends of peace could quote the whole verse in their favour with much more plausibility than the defenders of war; but they do not want it, as they have enough without it to satisfy any unprejudiced mind.

4. It is a principle of exegesis, generally allowed by theologians, that Scripture should never be so interpreted as to contradict itself. Now this passage, and one other, relating to the two swords, (Luke xxii. 36.) which I shall consider in my next, are the only two texts, taken from the Gospel, which, for many years, I have heard quoted in defence of war; and if these be sufficient to justify war, then our Saviour's sermon on the mount, and all his subsequent precepts of a peaceful nature, together with his example, and the precepts and example of the apostles after the day of Pentecost,



must go for nothing. So much do the abettors of war call on us to sacrifice, that they may be enabled to support a custom which has, from the murder of Abel to the present day, covered the earth with blood, and tears, and ashes, and made it to resound with lamentation, and mourning, and woe; and sent millions of precious souls into eternity.

### SECTION XXI.

*The text, He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one, considered.*

I now come to another text on which the abettors of war rely for defence. It is found in Luke xxii. 36: "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one." "Here," say our opponents, "notwithstanding all the prophecies which predicted our Saviour as the Prince of Peace, who gave his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to them that plucked off the hair, who hid not his face from shame and spitting, who was brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth; who had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth—(see Isaiah lii. 7—9); and under the influence of whose principles the nations should *learn* war no more—(see Isaiah ii. 4. and Micah iv. 3); notwithstanding that his precepts and example had hitherto been eminently pacific, he did now, at last, by this single sentence, authorise violence, bloodshed, and war!" I confess the accusation appears to me like infidelity and blasphemy; and I grieve that the prevalence of depravity in the world, and unbelief in the church, should make it necessary to clear our blessed Saviour's character from a charge of such gross inconsistency. But as it is, I must proceed to the task, "more in sorrow than in anger."

It is very certain that these swords were not for defence, for the following reasons:—

1. When the disciples replied, "Lord, behold here are two swords," "he said unto them, It is enough." Now it is certain that two swords were not "enough" for twelve men, if they had any intention of defending themselves by physical force.

2. When Peter did take one of these two swords in his rash zeal to defend his Master, so far from approving of his conduct, Jesus rebuked him, and healed the ear which Peter had smitten off.

3. He had no need of two swords for defence, who could command "more than twelve legions of angels."

4. The apostles and their immediate successors did not understand the above-named passage as authorising war, either offensive or defensive; for we have no record in the canon of Scripture that any one of them did ever, after that memorable night on which Jesus prohibited the use of the sword to his disciples, take the sword, even for defence; though there is no example in history, if we except that of the Jews, where a sect has been so persecuted and oppressed. And none would have so good a right, judging after the manner of men, to take the sword as they. And this was not owing to cowardice, but principle, and a firm belief that the Christian religion forbids the use of the sword for any purposes of bloodshed; for in many provinces of the Roman empire, the Christians were a large minority, and in some, a majority of the population. Ancient fathers of the church and ecclesiastical history confirm this fact, which I could prove by manifold quotations, if I had room; but two remarks must suffice.—

1. When Celsus, the great enemy of Christianity, in the second century, accused the Christians of refusing to bear arms, even in case the empire was invaded by the barbarians, Origen, one of the most eminent Christian fathers of the day, in answer to Celsus, does not deny a fact of such general

notoriety, but justifies the refusal of the Christians, on the ground that it was not lawful for them to bear arms, and inconsistent with their religion. 2. Gibbon, in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," says of the early Christians—whom he seems to hate almost as much as Celsus did—"Nor could their humane ignorance be convinced, that it was lawful on any occasion to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, either by the sword of justice or that of war, even though their criminal or hostile attempts should threaten the peace and safety of the whole community," (chap. xv., fourth clause.) When Christianity became corrupted by an union with the state, Christians took the sword; and they not only perished by the sword, but they brought a legion of corruptions into the church by means of war.

5. If we put the construction on the passage which our opponents contend for, we must do violence to all the peaceful precepts of Christ and his holy apostles, as well as to their example, and the example of the primitive Christians, that "noble army of martyrs," who suffered public execution sooner than take the sword for any consideration whatever, and also the obvious meaning of the prophecies which foretold the pacific character of the Messiah and his religion; and thus destroy the most incontestable proof of the truth of our holy religion, and leave the world without any revelation from heaven, but one inconsistent with itself.

But our opponents, with great confidence, ask, "Why were the disciples commanded to sell their garments and buy swords, if they were not to use them?" We have, I think, plainly proved that it was *not* to justify war, offensive or defensive, and that ought to satisfy them. I will hazard one conjecture, in addition to the other glosses which have been given on this passage, either of which would be more in harmony with the Gospel than that which our opponents contend for. Our Saviour often used figurative expressions, which were not fully comprehended by his disciples until they were explained by him. Such was his injunction: "Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees. And they reasoned among themselves, saying, It is because we have taken no bread," (Matt. xvi. 6, 7.) In this instance, the Saviour explained his meaning to them. In the case of the two swords, for wise reasons, he left them in the dark for a while. In a few hours he would practically show his meaning. The apostles kept the two swords with them. They were "enough"—if not for defence—to show his meaning. And when one of them was used, he rebuked him who used it, healed the wound, and gave his last commandment before his crucifixion: "Put up again thy sword into his place," with this denunciation, "for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," (Matt. xxvi. 52.) Our Saviour's advent into the world was hailed by songs of angels, singing glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men," (Luke ii. 4.) His first public discourse was full of peace; his last command before he suffered, was, "Put up thy sword;" his last denunciation was on those who used it; and his last prayer was for his enemies: thus producing a beautiful harmony through the whole of his ministration; which harmony our opponents are labouring to destroy.

But our opponents still reply, "How came these two swords among the apostles?" To this we answer—In that warlike age almost every man had a sword; It is not probable that all the apostles had thrown away their swords; but some two or three of them might have been kept for useful purposes. Now, if it should happen that a Quaker fishing-boat should be captured by a man-of-war, would the captor be justified in treating a crew of eleven men as warriors because two fowling pieces were found on board the prize, though they might have been old muskets, and formerly used in war? Besides, the apostles were not yet indoctrinated in the peace-

ful principles of the Gospel. If they had been, they would not have fallen under the just rebuke of their Master for asking his permission to call down fire from heaven to consume the inhabitants of a Samaritan village, or smitten a poor servant, and cut off his ear. In both cases, our Saviour showed his disciples that they knew not what spirit they were of; and many of his disciples of the present day are under the same mistake, and deserve the same rebuke.\*

## SECTION XXII.

### *Further objections answered.*

I HAVE NOW taken up every objection, of every kind, which has of late years been brought against the principles of Peace, when carried to the farthest extent by the friends of Peace, either in this country or abroad. There are a few others, drawn from the Gospel, which as I do not wish to leave my work unfinished I think it best to give them a passing notice.

1. One of them is the expression of Christ concerning the centurion who came to him requesting him to heal a servant. Christ said of the centurion, "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." It has been argued from this, that Jesus did not disapprove of the occupation of the Roman soldier. To this it may be answered,—1. That the commendation of Christ was on the *faith* of the centurion in the ability and willingness of Jesus to heal an absent person barely by his word, and not on his profession. Rahab, the harlot of Jericho, was commended by Paul for her *faith*, manifested in receiving the spies; but I never heard that any one justified her *profession* on that account, though there would be as good a reason as our opponents have. 2. The Messiah did not directly interfere with the existing relations of society. He left polygamy, slavery, war, and a thousand other sins without any pointed rebuke; but he established principles, which, if applied, will ultimately destroy them all. It is our duty to make that application. 3. If Christ was silent as to the pro-

\* The following is part of a note by the laborious and able American editor of "Dymond's Essays on War." We think it worthy of devout attention.—Ed.

"Was not the whole passage, from verse 36 to verse 38, intended to prepare the way for illustrating, in the conduct of Peter, the striking difference between the *courage and weapons of the soldier*, which Christ needed not, but condemned, and the *fortitude and spiritual arms*, which he required and approved in his disciples? Was it not intended to furnish a noble commentary on the texts: 'Resist not evil,' 'Love your enemies,' 'Bless them which persecute you,' &c. Is not this the commentary? Follow not the way of the world, which rejoices to return evil for evil, which exults in the opportunity and the means to chastise those who oppose and offend it. But I say unto you *with the power to punish, punish not; with the sword at your side, draw it not*. Was it not as though Christ had said, 'With the strongest temptation to break the law of love, humility, forbearance, forgiveness, forget not, that the *very temptation is to be the test of your faithfulness*. Sell your garment and buy a sword, to prove your self-command and lowliness of spirit, that the world when they see you armed, may be struck by the astonishing fact, that the sword itself is with the faithful disciple of the meek and lowly Jesus, not an instrument of violence, but a trial of his patience and love, and a test of his obedience and self-command!' Is not this consistent with the whole scheme of Christian probation? Now Peter had boasted, 'Lord I am ready to go with thee both into prison and to death;' and of this he gave unequivocal proof according to the world's notions, by the act of violence which he committed. But the mode of illustrating his devotion was condemned on the part of our Saviour, by word and deed. And when Peter, after having followed him to the high priest's palace, (another unequivocal proof, according to the world's ideas, of his devotion,) had thrice denied him, Jesus turned and looked on him, to reproach and condemn his *want of the only* courage that becomes a Christian. Was it not as much as to say, 'Thou wast ready to go with me to prison and to death, provided I would allow thee to do it sword in hand, and with the violence of armed warfare; but thou art not willing to follow me to prison and death in the only way I approve, with the fortitude of faith, not with the resistance of valour. The sword of the warrior I condemn; the sword of the Spirit I sanction and approve.'"

fession of the centurion, so he was as to his religion; and the Roman soldier was without doubt an idolater. 4. If the silence of our Saviour on the occupation of the centurion would justify any war, it would also justify idolatry and all the cruel, unjust, and unprovoked wars of the Roman armies, of which the centurion was a part.

2. Another objection is founded on the case of Cornelius, another centurion, to whom Peter was sent to impart the Gospel to him. It is said by our opponents, that it is no where recorded in Scripture that he quitted the profession of arms. We answer—1. That many publicans and harlots were also converted, but it is not recorded that they quitted their occupation. We have, however, good reason to conclude that they did; and we have as good reason to conclude that Cornelius did, as that Rahab did, or any harlot or publican, after they came to a knowledge of the truth; but nothing is expressly stated in one case more than another. 2. The fourth answer in the preceding paragraph is equally applicable here.

3. Another objection is, "Christ paid tribute-money to the Roman emperor, and thereby supported his wars, which he would not have done if war were contrary to his religion." To this it may be answered, that though a part of the tribute-money went to support the Roman armies in carrying on their cruel, unjust and rapacious wars of conquest, a part also went to support the voluptuous vices of the Roman emperors, gladiatorial shows, and the worship of idols. If this objection would justify one of these uses of the tribute-money, it would also justify the others.

All the objections against the principles of Peace which I can recollect have been examined, except the doctrine of expediency, which is too absurd, when brought against the precepts of the Gospel, to deserve notice.

If the principles of Peace are correct and incontrovertible, why have they no greater effect in making converts to our cause, or inducing those who are already converted, "to strengthen their brethren," by making sacrifices, both of time and money, to advance the cause, of truth? To the first part of this question there is but one answer. The prejudices of education prevent the Protestant Christian from seeing the truth on this subject, just as similar prejudices prevent the Roman Catholic from seeing the absurdities of his creed after they have been pointed out to him and confuted by the plain precepts of the Gospel. We wonder at the obstinate prejudices of the Catholic which make him shut his eyes against the light, while we are utterly insensible to our own. As to the second part of the question, let every convert to the cause of Peace look into his own heart for an answer.

I should now take my leave of the public, were it not that I wish to show that the difficulties are not all on our side; and I wish in one section more, to state those difficulties, and to ask such of my opponents as are professors of religion, how they can answer them. I especially request the attention of real Christians—and there are many—who yet endeavour to keep up a military spirit in the community, by "all the pomp and circumstance of war" displayed or attempted in our militia system—thus doing all they can to retard the day when the sword shall be beaten into a ploughshare and the nations learn war no more.

#### SECTION XXIII.

*Difficulty of reconciling the practice of war, either offensive or defensive, with the spirit and precepts of the Gospel.*

I now claim the privilege of turning the tables on my opponents, and call on all fighting Christians to defend themselves. Let those Christians who advocate the consistency of war with christianity, answer the following objections to the war system, with the same candour with which

I have answered their objections to the principles of Peace, or give up their sinful practices of fermenting the war spirit in the community. The public will take their silence as a confession of their inability; and I leave it to their own consciences, to reconcile their conduct with their Christian profession. It is absolutely absurd in a professor of the Christian religion to continue in a course of conduct which he cannot defend; and it is as wicked as it is absurd.

The difficulties, on the side of the advocates of war, I have arranged in the following order, and request that they may be taken up in course, and answered one by one, to the reader's conscience.

1. The Old Testament plainly predicts that by the influence of the religion of the promised Messiah, the time shall come when the nations shall learn war no more. How then can war be consistent with Christianity? It is true we have no such direct promise of the cessation of slavery; but all who believe that slavery will eventually cease, believe that that glorious reformation will be brought about by the general diffusion of Christianity. But how can the general diffusion of Christianity abolish slavery, if slavery be consistent with Christianity? Much more reason have we to ask, *How can the general prevalence of Christianity abolish the custom of war, if the custom of war be consistent with Christianity?*

2. The precepts of Christ and his apostles teach us to love our enemy, to feed him when hungry, and to give him drink when thirsty—to return good for evil, and to overcome evil with good; and the example of Christ teaches us to suffer death for our enemies, rather than make them suffer. I ask, how war can be carried on agreeably to these precepts and this example? If it be answered that these precepts are of “private interpretation” and do not apply to nations, I ask, *What authority is there for such an assertion?*

3. All Christians expect a millennium when wars and fightings will cease. I ask, are there any duties which will be incumbent on Christians in the millennium, that are not incumbent on them now? If any, what? and how are they to be promulgated?

4. If the church, in Christian countries, gives its sanction to any war, are we to expect the heathen to be converted to a higher standard of Christianity than that which is adopted by the church? If the church shall allow converts from heathenism to fight with each other as Christian nations do, can the millennium ever come until the church shall be raised to the standard of primitive Christianity?

5. If the practice of war be consistent with Christianity, why did not the apostles and primitive Christians resort to war to defend themselves, or at least recommend such a resort when they should become stronger? If they did so, let our opponents produce the evidence of it. If they did not, were they right or wrong? If right, why should we not follow their example?

6. Our Saviour said, “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.” I ask our opponents, Do they expect ever to receive this blessing, and how are they to obtain it by their present conduct?

7. If it be unlawful for a Christian to go to war, is it not sinful in them to manufacture or sell arms, or learn the art of war?

8. Precepts may be found in the Gospel suitable for every station and occupation in life, in which a Christian may be lawfully engaged. I challenge our opponents to produce a single command or precept given by our Saviour or any of his apostles, which is applicable to the occupation of a soldier as such, and evidently intended for his use. Now, if the profession of a soldier be consistent with Christianity, can our opponents tell us why

a soldier was left without any precept or rule for his conduct but such as would disarm him?

9. If there be a single virtue commended in the Gospel, which a soldier may not dispense with, and yet not lose his rank and standing as a soldier, I wish our opponents to name it. Or if there be a single vice forbidden in the Gospel, which a soldier may not practice in perfect consistency with the principles of war, I wish the advocates of war to point it out.

If any of our opponents will undertake to answer these objections to their own system, I shall be happy to give their answers a most respectful notice. And I beg of them to give us texts from the Gospel, and not their own reasoning only, and whole texts—whole verses or sentences.

Before I close the present series of essays in favour of the blessed cause of Peace, I would just remind my readers, that I have not pretensions to theological knowledge or subtlety of reasoning. The things which I have penned in these essays, appeared to me very plain, and I have expressed them in a plain manner. If there are any weak points in my defence of the principles of Peace, let them be attributed to the weakness of the advocate and not of the cause. I beg the prayers of all Christians of every denomination, that my feeble efforts, in behalf of the glorious cause of Peace, may be crowned with success, and to God be all the glory.

THE END.

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